

JPC:cg  
61-10355-151  
**RECORDED**

May 21, 1942

Miss Marian F. Barrett  
653 19th Street  
Brooklyn, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY 31003/EW/JAR/NC

Dear Miss Barrett:

I wish to advise that your letter of recent date has been received at this Bureau by reference from the White House.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this matter to the attention of the Federal Government are indeed appreciated. You may be assured that the content of your letter has been noted and will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Telson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 4

★ MAY 22 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-ROOM 5843

MAY 21 6 39 PM '42

3-18-42

Ack 10  
3-25-42

653 - 19th Street  
Brooklyn, N. Y.  
March 17, 1942.

*Justice  
FBI  
Constitutional Education League Inc.*

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am enclosing herewith a pamphlet en-  
titled "How to Win the War - and Lose what we're  
fighting for". I have read this publication with  
the utmost interest. I am curious to know what the  
answer to this pamphlet may be. It occurs to me that  
you may desire to comment on this brochure in your  
daily column or otherwise, as may seem most appropriate  
to you.

I shall be much interested in reading your  
comments.

Respectfully yours,

*Marian J. Barrett*

# 932768

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ELW/AR/c

FED. BU. OF INV.  
APR 6 1942

RECORDED

141

ENCLO. 15

*WY 5/2/48*

*WY 5/2/48 JPC*  
61-10355-161  
FEDERAL B  
13 APR 8 1942  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

COPIES DESTROYED  
R 171 JUN 15 1961

#932968 on this envelope  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/EW/JAR/16

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-151

ENCLOSURE

KRM:hr  
61-10355-152

RECORDED

April 17, 1942

Honorable Estes Kefauver  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/EWT/AR

My dear Congressman:

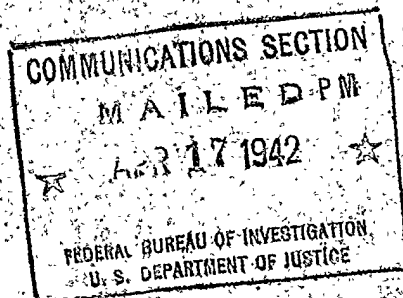
I want you to know that I do appreciate so much your forwarding me a copy of the letter which you directed to Mr. Hubert J. Stagmaier, Tennessee Paper Mills, Chattanooga, Tennessee, dated April 13, 1942, together with the enclosure to which you made reference.

I am always pleased to receive data of this kind, and I hope you will feel free to continue to forward to me any material which you consider of interest to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



9 APR 27 1942



ESTES KEFAUVER  
3D DIST. TENNESSEE

SECRETARIES:  
N. R. (PAT) PATTERSON  
LUCILLE SCHILLING

FIELD REPRESENTATIVE:  
ROBERT S. BRADY  
MC MINNVILLE, TENNESSEE

HOME ADDRESS:  
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE  
COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C.

April 13, 1942.

Mr. Hubert J. Stagmaier  
Tennessee Paper Mills  
Chattanooga, Tennessee

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY SP1003/ECW/PAK/AR

Dear Hubert:

I have your letter (undated), together with  
enclosures. Frankly, I don't blame you one bit for  
being mad, and I am forwarding the "literature" with  
the F. B. I.

Sincerely,

ESTES KEFAUVER

Copy to Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

For your consideration.

Estes Kefauver

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

61-10355-152

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 APR 14 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Confidential  
Enclosures  
4-16-42  
KRM

4-17-42  
KRM

# TENNESSEE PAPER MILLS

INCORPORATED

MANUFACTURERS OF

## PAPER BOX BOARD

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

JOHN STAGMAIER, PRES.  
C. E. FINLEY, VICE PRES. AND GEN. MGR.  
JOHN FLETCHER, SECRETARY  
HUBERT J. STAGMAIER, TREAS. & ASST. SEC.  
W. M. FINLEY, ASST. TREAS.  
L. T. MURPHY, PRODUCTION MGR.

MILLS LOCATED IN  
NORTH CHATTANOOGA ON  
MANUFACTURERS ROAD  
TELEPHONE 7-1338

7B6

Hon. Estes Kefauver  
Washington D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/80 BY SP10E3/BWOP/N

Dear Estes:

The enclosed pamphlet came to me in the mail to-day. The heading is enough to make one mad. The present time is not the time to send such stuff thru the mail. I do not approve of such pamphlets and thought you might want to know of same.

Sincerely your friend,

Hubert J. Stagmaier

*Hubert J. Stagmaier*

HJS/I

ENCLO. \$11  
HJS/I  
*enc*

MEMBER OF



RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED  
*enc*

61-10355-152

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 APR 14 1942
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*[Signature]*

envelop **ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39003/EWJAKK** on this



ENCLOSURE

61-10355-152

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED ON this envelope  
IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 3903/EZW SPK/NC



Empty when Repaired

61-10355-152

ENCLOSURE

Encl. empty

**Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**

Los Angeles, California  
April 11, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/0 BY 891003/ELW-JAR-16

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing herewith three items concerning  
the above-named organization for your information  
at this time. These were furnished to us by [redacted]  
[redacted] Los Angeles, and  
he has requested information on how far he can go in  
criticizing the President and still not violate any  
law. He has been referred to his attorney for such  
advice.

b6  
b7C

Very truly yours,

COPIES DESTROYED  
#171 JUN 15 1961  
RBH:hik

Enclosures det.

pub. files

4-17-42

K. R. M.

R. B. HOOD  
Special Agent in Charge

INDEXED

COPY IN FILE

7 MAY 4 1942

61-10355-153  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
1 APR 13 1942  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JFC:cgb  
61-10355-154

April 22, 1942

RECORDED

03251

Honorable Henry Haverick  
Chief  
Bureau of Governmental Requirements  
War Production Board  
Washington, D. C.

INDEXED

My dear Mr. Haverick:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated April 10, 1942, with which you enclosed a pamphlet entitled, "How to Win the War".

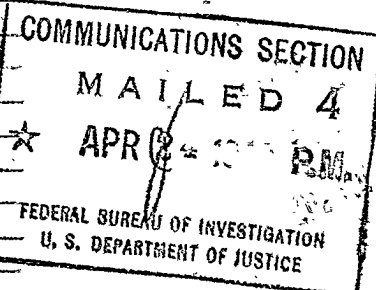
I want you to know that I sincerely appreciate your courtesy and interest in making this information available to me. You may be assured that the matter is being given appropriate consideration by this Bureau.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

11/23/015-29063/CLWJPK-HC

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



61-10355-154

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 10, 1942

IN REPLY REFER TO:

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 89002/ELW gkr nk

Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

The enclosed pamphlet "How to Win the War"  
might be of interest to you.

It came to my attention because of the fact  
that I was mentioned on page 11, and not knowing  
anything about the group who got it out, I thought  
you might like to see it.

Sincerely your friend,

*Maury Maverick*

Maury Maverick, Chief  
Bureau of Governmental Requirements



RECORDED & INDEXED

61-10355-154  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
16 APR 15 1942  
J. Edgar Hoover  
Whitson

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED on this envelope  
61-10355-154 IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/09 BY 29063/ELW/DAK

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-154

ENCLOSURE



61-10355 - 155  
JAC:ao'd

June 1, 1942

RECORDED

Mrs. Dorothea Deininger  
Moorestown-Bridgeboro Road  
Moorestown, New Jersey

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39003/ELW-JAK-M

Dear Mrs. Deininger:

I wish to advise that your letter of recent date has been received at this Bureau by reference from the White House.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing this matter to the attention of the Federal Government are indeed appreciated. You may be assured that the content of your letter has been noted and will receive appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

r. Tolson  
r. E. A. Tamm  
r. Clegg  
r. Glavin  
r. Ladd  
r. Nichols  
r. Rosen  
r. Tracy  
r. Carson  
r. Coffey  
r. Hendon  
r. Kramer  
r. McGuire  
r. Quinn Tamm  
r. Nease  
s. Gandy

93  
JUN 15 1942

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 9  
★ JUN 2 1942 A.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED - JUNE 1 7 10 PM '42  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RESPECTFULLY REFERRED  
FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT  
AND CONSIDERATION

Moorestown, New Jersey Rd.

Moorestown, N.J.

April 1, 1942

*W. M. G. [Signature]*  
Secretary to the President

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

Enclosed is a pamphlet you may not take time to read, but if you do you will see a slap in the face for AMERICANS.

Aren't there any red blooded Americans with intelligence enough to honestly help our Country and earn wages such as paid in Washington and which the American people are paying in high taxes? Why do we have the slime of all the foreign countries in key positions?

I work hard to support [redacted] because the Army took my husband.

I don't mind if he has to go to war, if we are fighting for liberty and our Country. But why make our own go to war for a bunch of communists?

Why aren't they in the front lines - let them be the cannon fodder.

We have protected them long enough and the citizens of this Country are getting sick of it.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11/23/01 BY 39063 EUN-JAK

*Dorothea Deininger*  
DOROTHEA DEININGER

ENCLO: JUN 8

RCB: AVB

April 9, 1942

RECORDED

61-10355-156

Special Agent in Charge  
New Haven, Connecticut

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/0 BY 39003/ELW JAR NC

Re: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE  
831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter to the Bureau dated April 3, 1942, transmitting two rolls of film for development and printing.

In accordance with your request, two enlarged photographic prints of each exposure and the negatives are being forwarded to your office under separate registered cover.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 3

APR 11 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

APR 10 1942

APR 11 1942

Handwritten initials and signatures, including a large 'E' and 'R'.

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
510 Trust Company Building  
New Haven, Connecticut  
April 2, 1942

100-15  
HCL:DB

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~  
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ELW/JAR/b

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Photographic Laboratory

Re: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE  
831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

There are being forwarded under separate cover two rolls of Mini-Pan Film marked: "New Haven file 100-15" Nos. 1 and 2, with the second roll used up to 130, the name Laduke on both cans, and the date, 4/1/42.

It is respectfully requested that two copies each of the photographs developed from the film be returned to the New Haven Field Office.

Very truly yours,

*R. H. Simens*  
R. H. Simens  
Special Agent in Charge

~~DEFERRED RE-ORDING~~ 4

RECORDED

61-10333-156  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
9 APR 4 1942  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
MECH. SECT. FILE



RCR:ELK

61-10355-157 April 13, 1942

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY 39063 ELW-JAR/NC

Special Agent in Charge  
New Haven, Connecticut

Re: JAMES H. HAMP  
CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your letter to the Bureau dated April 8, 1942, transmitting one roll of film containing exposures made in connection with the above-captioned case.

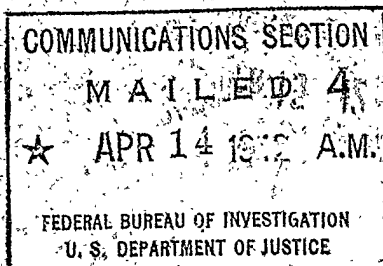
In accordance with your request, two photographic prints of each exposure and the negatives are being forwarded to your office under separate registered cover.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

5 APR 29 1942



**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
510 Trust Company Building  
New Haven, Connecticut  
April 8, 1942

**ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ELW-JAR-NC**

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

ATTENTION: Photographic Laboratory

Re: <sup>0</sup>JOSEPH P. KAMP  
<sup>0</sup>CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Dear Sir:-

There is being sent under separate cover one roll of Mini-pan film. It is respectfully requested that two pictures of each exposure be developed and forwarded to the New Haven Field Division.

The container is marked "New Haven File 100-15, dated 4/4/42, Agent H.C. Laduke, 1 to 59 exposed.

Very truly yours

*R.H. Simons*

R.H. Simons  
Special Agent in Charge

~~DEFERRED RECORDING~~

HCL:PYB  
100-15

RECORDED

*COPIES 13/42*

*IN FILE*

61-10355-157  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
MESH. SECT. 1/17



COPIES DESTROYED  
R 171 JUN 15 1961

DAF:DMM

April 16, 1942

RECORDED

61-10355-158

Mr. Walter Sillers  
Attorney at Law  
Rosedale, Mississippi

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/00 BY 39003/ELW JAK/n

Dear Mr. Sillers:

I have for acknowledgment your letter dated April 4, 1942, requesting information regarding an organization distributing material regarding persons holding high positions in the Government Service.

The periodical to which you refer has previously come to the attention of this Bureau and has been made available to the appropriate prosecutive officials. By a long established policy, I am not at liberty to comment on matters of this nature, nor can I furnish any information to an individual without the specific authority of the Attorney General. I am sure you will understand my position in this regard.

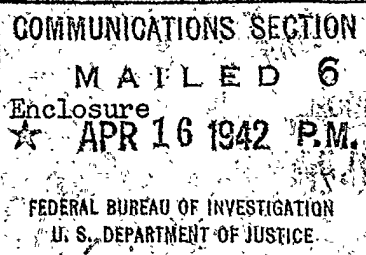
In accordance with your request I am forwarding several of my most recent addresses.

Your words of commendation concerning the work of the FBI are indeed heartening in these trying times and serve as a bulwark to our morale when the burdens seem most onerous.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAY 13 1942

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-4-5540

WALTER SILLERS

W. C. ROBERTS

OFFICES  
SILLERS & ROBERTS  
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW  
ROSEDALE, MISSISSIPPI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1942/1/23 BY 39063/awom/nk

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....  
Mr. Clegg.....  
Mr. Glavin.....  
Mr. Ladd.....  
Mr. Nichols.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Tracy.....  
Mr. Carson.....  
Mr. Coffey.....  
Mr. Hendon.....  
Mr. Holloman.....  
Mr. McGuire.....  
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....  
Mr. Nease.....  
Miss Gandy.....

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director of FBI  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

*Personal*

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I have received a copy of a pamphlet published by Constitutional Educational League, 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Conn., titled "HOW TO WIN THE WAR and loose what we are fighting for". The main article is written by Joseph P. Kamp. This pamphlet contains some very startling and alarming charges of communistic affiliations of a number of prominent persons employed in high positions in the Government service. No doubt you have seen and read this pamphlet.

Is the information therein correct and reliable? Can one afford to quote therefrom? What is the Constitutional Educational League? Is it in the hands of patriotic reliable Americans? If requested I shall keep any information you give me in regard to the above confidential.

Will you please also send me copies of your various addresses on subversive influences at work in this country. You very kindly sent me several copies on another occasion but they have been misplaced and I am very anxious to have another set, and would also like to have your most recent speeches. The people of this country do not realize the dangers with which we are confronted from the internal enemies, especially communism, and your speeches will have a very healthy influence, if they are sufficiently publicised.

RECORDED & INDEXED

I note the severe fight being made upon you and by subversive influences and I am shocked and alarmed over the attitude taken by certain high officials in the administration who seem to be in sympathy with these attacks. I am well acquainted with each member of the Mississippi delegation in Congress and several other Congressmen, and I am communicating with all of them urging that they use their utmost power and influence to protect your department against these onslaughts and to make available to you all the money necessary to double and re-double, triple, and re-triple your forces, if deemed

61-10355-158  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
APR 20 1942  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 94-4-5-12

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*ack 4/16/42*

*EX-10*



advisable. Personally I feel that it will be through the influence of your department, in cooperation with the intelligence department of the army and navy, that this country will be saved from these subversive influences during and after the war - If it is saved - and I want to see you have encouragement, support and backing possible. Every true, patriotic American citizen who believes in the form of government established by George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and the great patriots who designed and built this government should give you his unqualified support.

With regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours

*Wm. S. Sullivan*

WS:LP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY 39063 EWN JAX NC

ODA:DXM  
61-10355-159  
5/9/42

RECORDED

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL WENDELL BERGE

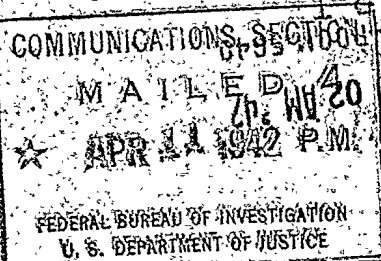
RE: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL  
LEAGUE, INC. - JOSEPH P. KAMP

Reference is made to your memorandum dated April 29, 1942, bearing the initials WB:JMcI:rh, your reference number 146-7-45, in which the request is made that copies of any investigative reports prepared in connection with the activities of the above-entitled organization since January 13, 1942, be made available to the Criminal Division.

No investigative reports in this matter have been submitted by any Field Division of this Bureau since the date you mention, and in this regard I refer you to my memoranda dated January 29, and March 16, 1942, submitted to Mr. James Rowe, Jr., The Assistant to The Attorney General. In these reference memoranda the results of an interview held with Joseph P. Kamp at the New York office of the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., were set forth, and various pamphlets being distributed by Joseph P. Kamp were also inclosed with these memoranda. The statement was made that this material was being forwarded for any action deemed appropriate and no additional inquiries were contemplated by this Bureau with reference to this material.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Legg \_\_\_\_\_  
Lavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Add \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Olsen \_\_\_\_\_  
Racy \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Loman \_\_\_\_\_  
Quinn \_\_\_\_\_  
Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1942

ADDRESS REPLY TO  
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"  
AND REFER TO  
INITIALS AND NUMBER

WB: JMMcI:rh

146-7-45

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 29, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-01 BY 39063 ELW JAR-AC

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Mr. Carson	.....
Mr. Coffey	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Kramer	.....
Mr. McGuire	.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm	.....
Mr. Nease	.....
Miss Gandy	.....
FILES	.....

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. JOHN EDGAR HOOVER,  
DIRECTOR, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Re: Constitutional Educational  
League, Inc. - Joseph P. Kamp

It is requested that copies of any investigative reports prepared in connection with the activities of the above named organization since January 13, 1942, be made available to the Criminal Division.

Respectfully,

*Wendell Berge*  
WENDELL BERGE,  
Assistant Attorney General.

RECORDED

EX-2

61-10355-159

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
11	APR 30 1942
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE	OFFICE

*[Signature]*

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



JKM:BK

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

April 22, 1942

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☐  
Mr. Clegg ☐  
Mr. Glavin ☐  
Mr. Ladd ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☐  
Mr. Tracy ☐  
Mr. Carson ☐  
Mr. Coffey ☐  
Mr. Hendon ☐  
Mr. Holloman ☐  
Mr. McGuire ☐  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Mr. Nease ☐  
Miss Beahm ☐  
Miss Gandy ☐

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/23/00 BY 39063/12 W OAK TC

Re: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.

Attached hereto is a pamphlet captioned "How to Win the War and Lose What We Are Fighting For", which is copyrighted and issued by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc. This is another one of the booklets put out by Joseph P. Kamp and it, as well as others, have been brought to the attention of the Department.

I thought you would be particularly interested in the following excerpts which appear on page 20 and thereafter referring to you, the Bureau, the Attorney General and the Department:

He quotes Congressman Dies as stating, "The evidence indicates there is a new influx of subversive elements into official Washington", and then comments, "And he was right, for after checking this list against 1939 available figures it is revealed that there was an increase in the number of Reds employed of some 176% in the Department of Agriculture, 300% in the Department of Justice, 800% in the War Department, and 1100% in the State Department."

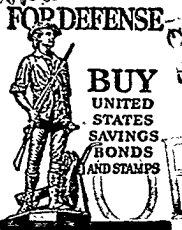
After commenting further that "the most important job in connection with our war effort is the counteraction of subversive activities on the home front" and that this "is the job of the Department of Justice and its FBI", Kamp goes on to say,

"How can we expect action from an Attorney General who, in the not too distant past, wrote poetry for a Communist magazine which was partly owned by his wife, Katherine Garrison Chapin, and which was edited by Robert Minor, present General Secretary of the Communist Party.

"And, more than that, if the records of the Department of Justice are still intact, they will show that Attorney General Biddle was also a financial contributor to the Communist movement in the early 20's.

"Is it any wonder then that J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, should have complained to friends that Mr. Biddle restricted him in the interest of Communists."

The pamphlet continues in the same vein and further along on page 22 states:



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4 MAY 26 1942

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61-10355-160  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
APR 29 1942  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FIVE

EX-6

Memorandum for the Director

- 2 -

"Is it any wonder that at a recent Communist meeting at which the latest Soviet film was shown, a Communist leader told the audience: 'If any of you hear of anyone objecting to the campaign being launched here tonight please report to us so that we can turn their names over to the FBI for investigation!'"?

"Can you imagine that?"

"Is it any wonder that of the three points of the current Communist program one calls for the elimination of anti-Communist officials from the government payroll and that the name of J. Edgar Hoover heads the list?"

Respectfully,

  
D. M. Ladd

Attachment

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED ON THIS ENVELOPE  
IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY 39003/ELW GRL/N

2

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-160

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

DALLAS, TEXAS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063 ELW JAL vlc

April 27, 1942

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Transmitted herewith is a pamphlet entitled  
\*"How To Win the War" published by the Constitutional  
Educational League, Inc. 342 Madison Avenue, New York,  
N. Y. This pamphlet was furnished to the Dallas Office  
by the Postmaster at Honey Grove, Texas, at the request  
of City Commissioner Frank Welch to whom it had been sent.

It is assumed the Bureau has received copies of  
this publication.

Very truly yours

*A. P. Kitchen*  
A. P. KITCHIN  
Special Agent in Charge

APK MH  
enc.

8/6

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

RECORDED  
INDEXED

61-10355-161	
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
MAY 1 1942	
U. S. DEPT. OF	JUSTICE

COPY IN FILE

J. EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

May 15, 1942

EWT:MAI

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

There is attached hereto, as of possible interest, a pamphlet published by Joseph P. Kamp of the Constitutional Educational League. It appears to be a less pretentious counterpart of the previous pamphlets published by this group such as "The Fifth Column in Washington".

The content of the pamphlet apparently consists of extracts and resumes of press releases and statements made by certain Congressmen and Columnists.

As of particular interest there are references to the Director and the Attorney General on pages 21, 22 and 23, which pages are appropriately marked.

Respectfully,

E. W. Timm

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 3903/EWJ/AR/NC

Attachment

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

FOR DEFENSE



BUY  
UNITED STATES  
SAVINGS  
BONDS  
AND STAMPS

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INDEXED  
EX-15

61-10355-161	
MAY 19 1942	
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
FIVE	

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*McCarte*



**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

JRR/EAB  
62-0

305 Realty Building  
Savannah, Georgia  
April 27, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/31/00 BY 39003/EN JAR NC

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Inc.,  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Dear Sir:

I am forwarding herewith to the Bureau a pamphlet  
entitled, "How to Win the War ---- and lose what we're fighting  
for".

This pamphlet deals principally with allegations con-  
cerning Communists in the Federal Government and refers to  
the Bureau and Department of Justice on pages 21, 22 and 23.  
It is not known whether the Bureau has previously received  
this pamphlet. It was directed to the F.B.I., Columbia, South  
Carolina, in an envelope postmarked Columbia, South Carolina,  
April 20, 1942.

The inquiry seeking for membership and contributions,  
together with the envelope in which this was sent, are also  
being sent herewith to the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

J. R. Ruggles  
J. R. RUGGLES  
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosures

1 ENCL. 1

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

COPY IN FILE

MAY 7 RECD

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&  
INDEXED

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 30 1942
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

W. J. Ruggles

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ew/sak nc

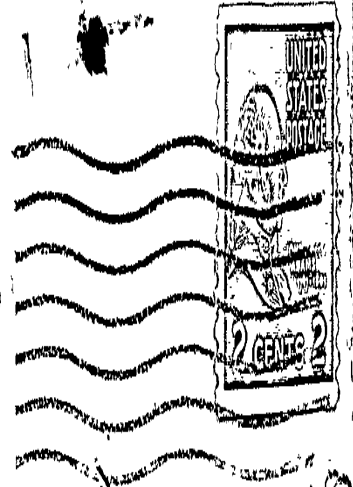
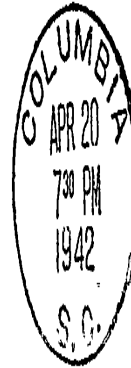
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61-10355-161X



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DATE 11-23-01 BY 39063/2W-JAC/NK  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

COLUMBIA SOUTH CAROLINA

61-10355-1614

KCH:jg  
61-10355-162

RECORDED

May 13, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY 59003 LEW JAR-MC

Mr. E. A. Peacock  
Tiptonville Hardware and Furniture Co.  
Tiptonville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Peacock:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your  
communication, with enclosure, dated April 25, 1942.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing  
this information to my attention are indeed appreci-  
ated, and you may be assured your letter will receive  
appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 6

★ MAY 14 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

PUBLICATION FILE

# TIPTONVILLE HARDWARE & FURNITURE CO.

TIPTONVILLE, TENNESSEE

"On Reelfoot Lake"

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-23-01 BY 29063/EW-MAR-71

April 25th, 1942.

Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

I am enclosing you herewith a piece of propaganda put out by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., of New Haven, Conn.,.

I didn't read all of his tripe but in scanning thru it the impression I gained is that this outfit is trying to promote division, dissatisfaction and dissention among the American people by telling half truths and quoting small passages from speeches of our various legislators.

I think this country has a big enough job on hand at this time to stick together and win the war without fighting among ourselves, and would appreciate your looking this piece of literature over and if there is any basis of an investigation, make it. In fact it wouldn't be a bad idea to investigate this outfit anyway!

Yours very truly,

Tiptonville Hdwe. & Furn. Co.,

By.

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61-10355-162  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

APR 30 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

E. A. PEACOCK

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1 ENCL. 18

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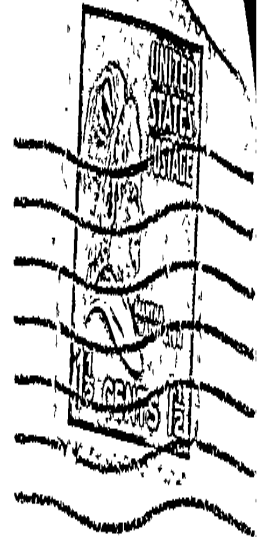
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61-10355-162

Constitutional Educational League, Inc.  
New Haven, Connecticut



Tiptonville Hdwe. & Furn. Co.,

Tiptonville, Tenn.

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 3003/EWJAK

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61-10355-163

May 13, 1942

RECORDED KCH:ao'd

Mr. Irving T. Olsan  
3607 Ninth Street  
Riverside, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ELN JAR-NC

Dear Mr. Olsan:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your  
communication dated April 30, 1942.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing  
this information to my attention are indeed appreci-  
ated, and you may be assured your letter will receive  
appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

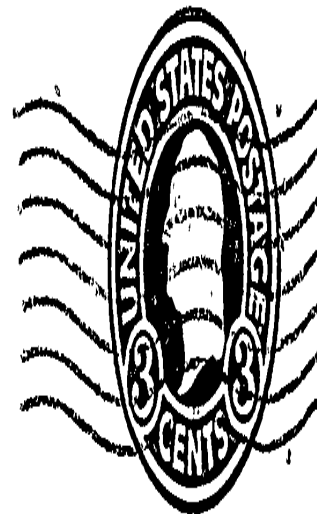
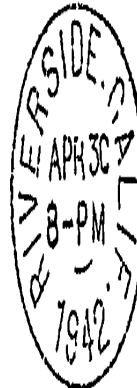
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 12  
★ MAY 14 1942 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

JUN 5 1942

RIVERSIDE FURNITURE CO.,

3607 Ninth Street,

RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA.



Postage due 3 cents

Postage due 3 cents

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 1-27-01 BY 31063 LRU/omw

**OLSAN'S**  
**Riverside Furniture Co.**

TELEPHONE 1584

3607 NINTH STREET - CORNER ORANGE  
RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA

April 30, 1942.

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

We are herewith enclosing a pamphlet, and the envelope in which it arrived, and a slip asking for volunteer services, which we received in the mail today.

Due to the fact of its high-sounding name and its failure to contain any list of sponsors, and the fact that it is an attempt to spread dissatisfaction, cloaked with patriotism, we believe that its true purpose might be that of political sabotage. In any event, we are sending it to you to handle as you see fit. Undoubtedly, uncounted thousands more of the same must have been mailed.

Very truly yours,

*Irving T. Olsan*  
Irving T. Olsan.

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 34063/ELWJAB-12

RECORDED & INDEXED

*Let ack by famel*  
*PC sent 5/13/42*

61-71355-163
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 5 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*Winters*  
*A. J. ...*

EX-11

13

13

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DATE 11/23/01 BY 39063/ELWJPA/16

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61-10355-163

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

Constitutional Educational League, Inc.  
New Haven, Connecticut



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11

Riverside Furn. Co.,

3607 Ninth St.,

Q-12

Riverside, Calif.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED on this envelope  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY 3103/EJW-JAR-NC



GKS:WW

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

April 22, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ELW JAW/ny  
MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLS

Re: Constitutional Educational League, Inc.  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York, New York

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Tour Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

HISTORY OF ORGANIZATION: This organization was incorporated under the laws of the State of Connecticut on April 20, 1937. The officers were Joseph P. Kamp, New York City; W. Byron Swartz, Vice President, Orange, Connecticut; Chester A. Hanson, Treasurer and Agent, Milford, Connecticut; and Madelyn A. Carmon, Assistant Treasurer and Secretary, New Haven, Connecticut.

Corporate purposes are: "To bring about a more complete understanding of the functions of our Government and the guarantees and provisions of its instrument, the Constitution of the United States; to inculcate patriotism and love of country; to investigate and expose the subversive elements which are seeking to undermine the faith of the American people in their institutions and to foster this general program through the medium of the spoken word."

The League has an office at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, at which the principal volume of business is conducted; an office located at 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut; a branch office at Madison, Wisconsin, under the direction of John E. Waters, head of the Midwestern district of the League; and a Southern Branch in Birmingham, Alabama, which is now closed. Efforts were made to establish offices in other cities of the United States without success.

ACTIVITIES OF ORGANIZATION: The activities of the League date back approximately ten years prior to its incorporation. It appears to be a radical, anti-Communist organization. Its leaders are belligerent in writing and in speech against Communism. Among the publications issued by this League are:

"Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" (1937)  
"The Hell of Herrin... Rages Against America" (1937)  
"Headlines and What's Behind Them" (1939)

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

INDEXED

2 MAY 4 1942

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

COPY IN FILE

"The Fifth Column in Washington!" (1940)

"The Fifth Column in the South" (1940)

"The Fifth Column versus the Dies Committee" (1941)

"The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" (1941)

"Why Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting For" (1942)

"Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" and "The Hell of Herrin....Rages Again" both attack John L. Lewis and the CIO. Lewis is accused of being "communistically inclined" and "a traitor to labor." It is a definite attempt to show that the CIO is a Communist front group.

"The Fifth Column in Washington" was published in June, 1940, and contains a list of employees of the government who are alleged to be Communists or Communist sympathizers. Among those listed are Robert Lovett, Secretary of the Virgin Islands; Robert H. Jackson, then Attorney General of the United States; Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; and Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor. This booklet also stated that no criticism can be made of the excellent work done by the FBI but it must be remembered that the Director is a subordinate of the Attorney General and the FBI by itself is helpless.

"The Fifth Column in the South" points out the alleged dangerous growth of communism in that part of the country and accuses Mrs. Roosevelt of heading the Communist movement by her financial assistance to the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee. It also attacks the spread of the CIO through the South and states that the Communists and the CIO were working together particularly among the southern negroes.

"The Fifth Column versus The Dies Committee" advocates continuance of this committee. It accuses the Department of Justice of alleged attempts to bring the Dies Committee into ill répute. It is somewhat anti-Bureau and very much pro-Dies Committee.

"The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" is a map which indicates the various Nazi, Fascist, and Communist spots in the United States. On the reverse side is the following statement: "Since the Department of Justice on June 26, 1941, notified all federal attorneys to hold up prosecution against Soviet agents, any information regarding Communistic activities should be sent to the Honorable Martin Dies, Chairman, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington, D. C."

The pamphlet "Why Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting For" seems to be a follow-up to the pamphlet "The Fifth Column in Washington." It reiterates in substance the complaint of the Dies Committee that "Reds" have infiltrated

into leading positions in our government. It concludes with a form letter on the back page urging the President "to purge the government of these un-American elements." It requests that this letter be sent to the President.

The letterhead of the League reflects it was founded in 1919 as a non-political and a non-profit organization. In the immediate years prior to its incorporation in 1937 and for a time thereafter it had a group of sponsors. Concerning these original sponsors the Chamber of Commerce, New Haven, Connecticut, reports they appear above question. It is rumored that many of them resigned because the group had strayed from its original purpose.

The League is operated by Joseph P. Kamp at New York City, where the volume of the business is conducted; by Chester A. Hanson, Secretary at New Haven, Connecticut; and by John E. Waters, the Midwestern head, at Madison, Wisconsin. The New Haven branch appears more active than the Madison office. Kamp appears to be the leader of the League.

Numerous reports have been received that the organization is pro-Axis. To date no information has been developed indicating the League is a subversive organization. On one occasion Gerald B. Winrod, Wichita, Kansas, wrote a form letter endorsing the League's publication "The Fifth Column in Washington."

In a letter to the National Better Business Bureau in 1938, the League claimed it secured 4,000,000 signatures to a petition to continue the Dies Committee. It answered in 1939, 200,000 communications and claims distribution during 1939 of 6,000,000 pieces of literature.

FINANCIAL DATA: The publications of this organization have a stated price of 25¢ per copy although there is some indication that this literature is distributed gratis.

The organization claims that its receipts for 1934 totaled \$7,000 of which \$5,000 was listed as derived from "memberships." Dunn and Bradstreet in January, 1938, reports the League's assets as \$55,000. Receipts from contributions were listed as \$36,600, and receipts from sale of literature as \$19,100. It claims receipts in 1939 of \$33,750; contributions and memberships are listed as \$29,350; and that in 1940 it received over \$600,000 in contributions. b6 b7C

It has been reported that an individual named [redacted] who is allegedly a wealthy Republican Committeeman, is financing Kamp in the latter's activities. No investigation has been made regarding this complaint.



BACKGROUND OF OFFICERS: Under the leadership of Joseph P. Kamp the organization is conducting most of its business at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City. Little is known concerning the personal history of Kamp. From the inside cover of the booklet "The Fifth Column in Washington" the following brief history of Kamp appears: "In 1933-34, Mr. Kamp was Executive Vice President of the Robert J. Wagner Democratic Association in the democratic stronghold of the Nation, Senator Robert J. Wagner's District. In September 1934 he was named Secretary of the General Committee of the Westchester County, New York Democratic organization; a designation which, however, he was unable to accept. An editor of newspapers and magazines and for more than twenty years a student of subversive movements he writes with authority."

Until 1937, Kamp was Executive Editor and Publisher of the now defunct magazine "Awakener" which is described by "The Hour" as having been a Fascist publication. Associated with Kamp in his publication of the "Awakener" was Harold Lloyd Barney. Barney was connected with the Italian Historical Society of New York and collaborated with Kamp in the publication of the pamphlet entitled "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America."

"The Hour" which is a mimeographed publication subsidized by the Anti-Defamation League, claims in the issue of August 17, 1940, that Kamp was one of the sponsors of the "Pro-America Mass Meeting" which was addressed by Major John E. Kelley, the notorious Jersey City Fascist who has spoken before meetings of the German American Bund and the Christian Front. Kamp is known to have distributed anti-Semitic literature. At one time he concentrated on the distribution of the forged Benjamin Franklin letter relative to the Jews. Another anti-Semitic publication which Kamp distributed was "Why Are the Jews Persecuted For Their Religion?" "The Hour" further states that Kamp is known to have cooperated with William Dudley Pelley, the Silver Shirts leader. He is an intimate acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth Dilling, the author of the "Red Network."

It has been reported that Kamp has an autographed photograph of Adolph Hitler in his office at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

John E. Waters, who is the Midwest Chairman of the League at Madison, Wisconsin, published a booklet called "Red Justice." The advertisement of this book states that Waters traveled in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1931. He is well educated and is known to be a prolific ghost writer and is believed to have made numerous speeches against Communism.

Investigation conducted indicated that Waters may be pro-German but nothing developed to indicate subversive activities. He is believed to be one hundred per cent anti-Communist.

Chester A. Hanson appears as Secretary of the League with offices at New Haven, Connecticut. Little is known concerning him except that he is active in the organization and may possibly be the motivating factor in the financial activities of the League.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL REGARDING LEAGUE: On March 10, 1941, the Attorney General was advised by memorandum of the information in our files and was requested to give an opinion as to possible violations of the law by the League.

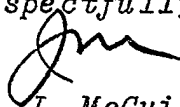
The Attorney General replied under date of June 6, 1941, to the White House and to the Bureau advising that the facts presented did not constitute a violation of any law. He stated in the memorandum to the Bureau that he desired no further investigation.

On September 4, 1941, the publication "The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" was transmitted to the Attorney General and his advice was requested as to what action he desired the Bureau to take. On September 22, 1941, the Attorney General advised that he did not believe "The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" constituted a violation of any criminal statute; that the statement contained in the publication to the effect that on June 26, 1941, the Department of Justice notified all federal attorneys to hold up prosecution against Soviet agents was erroneous. He suggested that if an Agent should have occasion to contact this League to ascertain the basis for the claims in the publication and to advise the person interviewed that no such instructions were issued by the Department of Justice.

In a memorandum dated January 21, 1942, to the Attorney General, it was stated that an Agent had contacted Joseph P. Kamp and Kamp was unable to remember the source of his information concerning the order of the Department of Justice to hold up prosecution of Soviet agents. Kamp stated that if the Department of Justice would deny this fact in a letter he would refrain from further distribution of this publication. The memorandum stated it was being sent for information and no further inquiry by the Bureau was contemplated.

On March 16, 1942, a memorandum was sent to the Attorney General enclosing the League's latest publication "How to Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting For." The memorandum stated it was being furnished for information and no further inquiry was contemplated.

Respectfully,

  
J. J. McGuire

JPC:SB

61-10355 -165

May 12, 1942

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-31-01 BY 39663/ELW-JAN-16

Mr. W. A. Rulo  
Smith-Rule Furniture Company, Inc.  
Clifton Forge, Virginia

Dear Mr. Rulo:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your communication under date of April 30, 1942. Your courtesy and interest in writing me in this regard are indeed appreciated.

In connection with the subject matter of your letter, I desire to point out that the information contained in the files of this Bureau is of a strictly confidential nature and cannot be released in the absence of the Attorney General's specific authority.

In the event that you secure any further data which you deem to be of interest to the FBI, please feel free to communicate with the Special Agent in Charge, 601 Richmond Trust Building, Richmond, Virginia.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_ CC - New Haven  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_ (With copies of incoming)  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
MAILED 11  
MAY 13 1942 P.M.  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

2 MAY 18 1942

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED  
MAY 13 9 44 AM '42

*eat*

*Revised*

*JPC*

SMITH - RULE FURNITURE CO., INC.

"Home Outfitters"

Clifton Forge, Virginia April 30th. 1942

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen;

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/0 BY 39063/ELWJAK/K

There is an organization in Connecticut with the following address;

Constitutional Educational League Inc.  
831 Chapel Street,  
New Haven, Conn.

which is distributing circulars thru the mails that claims as  
it's objective;

- (a) legislation to remove all Communists from public pay-rolls,
- (B) continuance of the Dies Committee for the duration with  
ad adequate funds for exposing all forms of subversive activity
- (c) legislation to unshackle the FBI
- (d) a thorough investigation of Harry Bridges.

These are all worthy objectives.

They are soliciting funds.

Will you please advise who these people are and the names of the  
officers etc. and if they are engaged in work which is calculated  
to preserve the American Institutions such as we have known them for  
the past few generations at least?

It is not my intention to subscribe any money or promote their  
program but they make assertions in their pamphlet that are  
astounding to say the least.

and  
Slogan is Help Win the War ~~without~~ Losing what we are  
fighting for.

There are no personal names on the citculars that claim to be  
connected with the organization but there are excerpts from quite  
a number of prominent people who are writers, ministers and  
professors.

I just think these matters should be reported as soon as they  
make their appearances.

Yours very truly,

W. A. Rule (W. A. Rule)

Carbon copy to Hon. Clifton A. Woodrum

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED.

61-10355-165  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
10 MAY 4 1942  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ack - 5-12-42  
cc new Parson  
JPC

Davis Furniture Co.

HARDWARE AND FURNITURE  
400-402-404-406 NORTH 2ND STREET  
LAMESA, TEXAS

73 ✓  
5/2/42

Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39003/EW JAR-NC

Gentlemen;-

9  
Enclosed herewith pamphlet from "Constitutional  
Educational League. Inc." of New Haven, Conn. in which you may be interested

Yours truly,

Davis Furniture Co.,

by

*F. L. Davis*

F. L. DAVIS

ZTD/F

We have no idea why this should have been mailed to us.

*ack 5-21-42  
KCH*

*100-20000-18  
41*

*mm*

RECORDED  
INDEXED

*mm*

66-10355-166  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
18 MAY 8 1942  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-9

*Winter*

KCH:sb

RECORDED

61-10355-166

May 21, 1942

Mr. F. L. Davis  
Davis Furniture Company  
Box 278  
Lamesa, Texas

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39023/ELW-JAH/OL

Dear Mr. Davis:

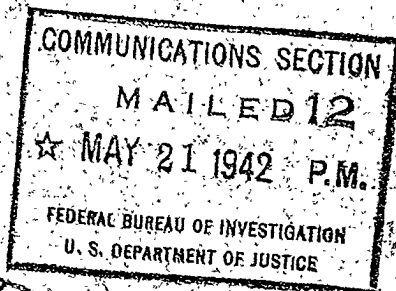
I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter with enclosures of May 2, 1942, and thank you for your courtesy and interest in bringing this material to my attention. Please be assured that it will be given appropriate consideration and be made a part of the permanent records of this Bureau.

If, in the future, you receive any information which you feel will be of interest to the FBI, do not hesitate to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge, 1200 Tower Petroleum Building, Dallas, Texas.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY SP103/EW/STK/NC

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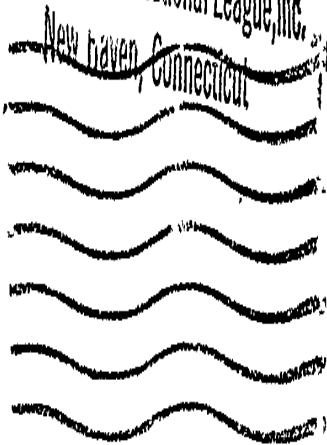


ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-166

Constitutional Educational League, Inc.  
New Haven, Connecticut



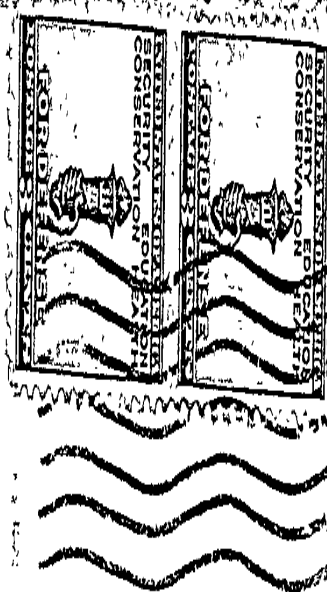
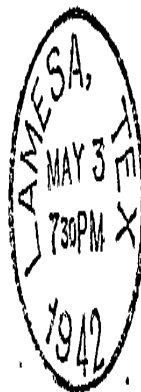
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED on this envelope  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ELW JAR-1/10

Davis Furn. Co.,

Lamesa, Tex.



Davis Furniture Co.,  
Box 278,  
Lamesa, Texas



Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-3-01 BY 59003/ELW-JAP-RL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID

PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *on this envelope*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *1/23/0* BY *SP4N03/ELW/JAR/KC*

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.

NH FILE NO. 100-15 DB

REPORT MADE AT <b>NEW HAVEN, CONN.</b>	DATE WHEN MADE <b>5/6/42</b>	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE <b>4/1, 4, 27/42</b>	REPORT MADE BY <b>H. C. LADUKE</b>
TITLE <b>CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Inc.; JOSEPH P. KAMP; W. BYRON SWARTZ; DR. H. W. BENJAMINE; CHESTER A. HANSON; MADELYN A. GARMON</b>			CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - G</b>

**SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:**

Confidential informant [redacted] confidential source of information.  
Agent secured latest pamphlets of league for exhibits for the file and enclosure for the Bureau.

b7D

**REFERENCE:**

Bureau teletype dated 4/21/42.

**DETAILS:**

Confidential Informant T-1 on reading an editorial in the New Haven Register, New Haven, Conn., dated 3/31/42 written by WALTER VINCHELL, stating that JOSEPH P. KAMP is a spreader of Fascist propaganda, reported the reading of this article to Special Agent in Charge J. T. Madigan. Mr. Madigan detailed the reporting agent to contact Confidential Informant T-1 as the informant stated [redacted].  
A picture of the above mentioned editorial is being forwarded as an enclosure to the Bureau.

Informant T-1 gave the agent [redacted]

b7D

"CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Inc.  
831 Chapel Street  
New Haven, Connecticut

APPROVED AND FORWARDED:  <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
COPIES OF THIS REPORT 5 - Bureau 2 - New Haven		61-10355-1767 MAY 3 1942	RECORDED INDEXED
<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold; letter-spacing: 0.5em;">COPY IN FILE</div>			
COPIES DESTROYED 7-42			

414 JUN 20 1961

"This movement, which we understand was founded in 1919, established a Connecticut organization with headquarters in this city in 1926. It was organized under the active direction of CHESTER A. HANSON, as Executive Secretary.

"It operated as a fact finding movement in respect to Communist and other Red activities, investigating individuals and organizations, and disseminated its information through every means of public expression; i.e., newspapers, magazines, speakers, radio, etc. It also published booklets, pamphlets and tracts on Constitutional subjects and assisted in stimulating recruits for the Citizens Military Training Camps.

"The Chairman was JUDGE JOHN L. GILSON, of the local Probate Court, Commandant of the Governor's Foot Guard and Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War. Dr. H. W. BENJAMIN, Hartford, was Field Secretary and WILLIAM H. KUSH, Assistant Secretary. The Advisory Committee consisted of Major P. Leroy Harwood, New London banker; Col. ANSON E. KEELER, State Comptroller; Col. ANTHONY SUNDENLAND, Commissioner of State Police, and other men of equal prominence and responsibility.

"In 1937 the Connecticut membership was merged with the national organization and with the election of Mr. Hanson as Secretary-Treasurer the National offices were moved to this city and are now located at the above address. Mr. HANSON resides in Milford, a nearby residential community.

"On May 14, 1937, the organization was incorporated as a non-profit corporation under Connecticut statutes for the following purposes:

To bring about a more complete understanding of the functions of our Government and the guaranties and provisions of its basic instrument, the Constitution of the United States; to inculcate patriotism and love of country; to investigate and expose the subversive elements which are seeking to undermine the faith of the American people in their institutions.

"Its present officers are BRIG. GEN. LUKE H. McALLAN, former State Legion Commander and recent candidate for Governor of Rhode Island, Chairman; JOSEPH P. KAMP, former Vice President, Kamp Construction Co., and

"Editor and Publisher of ~~THE AWAKENER~~, New York, Executive Vice Chairman; W. BYRON SWARTZ, Vice President, Byron Tire & Rubber Co., New Haven, Vice Chairman; Judge LEONARD J. MCMAHON, Danbury, Vice Chairman; MADELYN CANNON, Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer; MILDRED L. HALL, Birmingham, Alabama, Secretary, Southern Department; JOHN E. WATERS, Madison, Wisconsin, Midwest Secretary.

"Many of its Committeemen are active in veteran circles and those known to us are responsible citizens in their respective communities. Among the Committee members are Major General R. E. NOBLE, former Surgeon General of the U.S. Army and Commander NELSON PICKERING, Connecticut manufacturer who has just completed a term as president of the National Metal Trades Association.

"When headquarters were moved here a huge volume of printing was done locally and we have ascertained that the business has been satisfactory and that the organization is up to date in its accounts.

"The League has a good reputation in this city and throughout the state and from advices we have received from different parts of the country it is evidently doing a commendable work.

"Mr. HANSON has opened his files to us and we have seen many hundreds of letters which indicate that the League's literature is having the widest circulation and is being used by members of Congress, Military and Naval Intelligence, Chambers of Commerce, labor unions, newspapers, patriotic and fraternal organizations, church and civic groups, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the American Legion, among others.

"We have also read many glowing letters of praise and commendation from the highest and most responsible sources. A letter written by a former President of the National Association of Manufacturers reads in part as follows:

"Your organization has been doing a wonderfully constructive piece of work. I know of no other organization that has so thoroughly investigated the record of the Communists in this country, who are attempting to overthrow the system that has made possible here the highest standard of living in the world."

Confidential Informant T-1 [redacted]

agent [redacted]

[redacted] Confidential Informant T-2, [redacted]  
[redacted]

"CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.  
First National Bank Building  
New Haven, Connecticut

July 17, 1941

342 Madison Avenue - New York, N.Y.

"(This report sets forth in chronological order such information that has come into the Bureau's possession from time to time).

"This organization originally came to the Bureau's attention during the latter part of 1936, [redacted]

b7D

"The Constitutional Educational League, with headquarters in the First National Bank Building in New Haven, was organized some ten odd years ago under the active direction of Messrs. CHESTER A. HANSON and JOSEPH P. KAMP (not incorporated), as a fact-finding movement concerning the workings of the Communist and other alien Red movements, and to disseminate this information through every known means of public expression; i.e., newspapers, magazines, speakers, radio, etc.

"This is the statement made by CHESTER A. HANSON who is the Executive Secretary. There is also considerable investigation work as to the activities of certain individuals and organizations.

"The Chairman is Judge JOHN E. GILSON, judge of the Probate Court in New Haven. Dr. H. W. BENJAMIN, Hartford is Field Secretary and Wm. H. RUSH, Jr. is Secretary. The Advisory Committee consists of Major P. LEROY HARWOOD, New London; Col. Anson F. Keeler, Norwalk; Judge JOHN H. KIRKHAM, New Britain; Judge BACON KAGHAN, Fairfield, and other men of equal prominence and responsibility.

"Subsequently, [redacted]  
[redacted]

b7D



"The Constitutional Educational League has operated from New Haven for a number of years and its activities have been confined principally to the southern and western parts of the State, particularly the area around Bridgeport, Conn., where there are many unskilled factory employees. They have always been a relatively small organization and have confined themselves to the writing of pamphlets, newspaper stories, etc., to combat Communism and other isms. In some instances, they have really gone into the factories with undercover men to ferret out radical elements and in doing this work, have secured the support and approbations of some manufacturers. All in all, it is just one of those organizations which has had a rather precarious existence for some time. We see very little of them here in Hartford County because this is an open shop territory and the radical element is at a minimum.

"Subsequently, the organization expanded its activities on a national or semi-national scale, and in addition to the New Haven Office, they now list offices at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City and in Madison, Wisconsin and a southern department at Birmingham, Ala.

"During 1937 and 1938, many inquiries and reports were received by this Bureau indicating that the Constitutional Educational League was extremely active in circulating literature unfavorable to the CIO and was sponsoring speeches and broadcasts along similar lines. Under date of September 16, 1937, the organization submitted the following statement to the Bureau:

"The income of our organization is derived from the sale of books and literature and contributions. The scope of our activity covers the entire United States, and the writer of this letter is a full-time paid, Secretary-Manager. The Directors in charge of our branch offices are also salaried full-time men.

"Our organizers in the field are paid according to the service rendered our organization. Some of them are speakers and investigators as well as solicitors. They are paid salaries and expenses as well as commissions on the sale of literature."

"In March of 1938, publicity appeared in the newspapers relative to public charges set forth by the Constitutional Educational League, alleging that it was being harassed and 'persecuted' by the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee.

"At this point, we might mention parenthetically that such of the booklets distributed by the above subject as we have seen are devoted almost exclusively to an expose of alleged Communistic activities in the United States with practically no reference to Fifth Column activities of the Fascists or the Nazis. In this connection, an article which appeared in the October 7, 1940 issue of 'The New Republic' stated that the booklet 'The Fifth Column in Washington' had enjoyed a rather brisk sale at Christian Front and German-American Bund meetings. The article further goes on to say that JOSEPH P. KAMP, author of the book, until 1937, edited the pro-Fascist magazine 'The Awakener' and that on his staff were HAROLD LORD WARNEY, Fascist propagandist, and LAWRENCE DENNIS, editor of 'The Coming American Fascism'. The article further states that when 'The Awakener' suspended publication, Kamp wrote to a follower, 'The work will be carried on by the Constitutional Educational League'.

"The article further reports on the alleged questioning of Mr. Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the organization, before the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee in 1937, wherein Mr. HANSON is supposed to have stated that the organization was not particularly concerned with teaching about the Constitution.

"The article further states that Mr. KAMP was one of the sponsors of the Hotel Biltmore meeting at which General MOSELEY was asked to ride the white horse for an American Fascist Putsch, and that another sponsor of this meeting was ALLEN ZOLL, who organized the Coughlin picketing of WCA and was later indicted for blackmail. The article further states that Kamp and the Christian Front promoted a mass meeting at which JOHN MCWILLIAMS, fuhrer of the Christian Mobilizers, and John E. Kelley, speaker for the German-American Bund, were guest stars. The article also says that Kamp is a close friend of EDWARD LODGE CURRAN, who writes for Social Justice and once substituted for Father Coughlin on the air, and that the Constitutional Educational League is heartily endorsed by Patrick Scanlon, editor of the Coughlinite Brooklyn Tablet, and JAMES TRUE, fascist news-writer.

"Mr. KAMP was written regarding the 'New Republic' article and issued a general denial of its accuracy. In effect, he admitted that he had edited the publication 'The Awakener' but denied that it was a pro-fascist paper, or that HAROLD WARNEY or LAWRENCE DENNIS were fascist sympathizers. However, as recently as June 6, 1941, the New York Herald Tribune referred to Dennis as an 'advocate of Fascism in America'. Mr. Kamp also admitted the hearing in 1937 before the



"LaFollette Committee but had a few uncomplimentary remarks about that Committee. He denied having had anything whatsoever to do with General Moseley at any Hotel Biltmore meeting, etc.

"Early in 1940, this Bureau requested the Constitutional Educational League, Inc. to fill out one of the Bureau's regular questionnaires designed to elicit pertinent information from organizations soliciting membership fees and contributions. The organization did not comply with this request but did furnish certain literature and a financial statement. This literature recounted the activities of the organization in combatting the CIO as above referred to. It is also stated that in November 1938 when efforts were being made to halt the Dies Committee, the League instituted a nation-wide drive on its behalf, secured over 4,000,000 signatures to petitions and 'deluged Congress with an avalanche of letters and telegrams from aroused patriots.' During 1939, according to the literature, the League was active in exposing and opposing various radical activities. It was stated that during the year the League had answered almost 200,000 communications and distributed over 6,000,000 pieces of literature. From such information as has reached the Bureau, it would appear that during 1940, the League's activities were patterned after those of previous years.

"At the time, the officers of the Constitutional Educational League were Brig. Gen. LUKE H. CAILAN, Chairman; JOSEPH P. KAMP, Executive Vice Chairman; W. BYRON SWARTZ, Vice Chairman; Hon. LEONARD MCMAHON, Vice Chairman; CHESTER A. HANSON, Secretary-Treasurer; MADELYN CANNON, Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer; MAJOR A. CLOYD GILL, Director of Research; MILDRED H. HALL, Secretary, Southern Department; JOHN E. WATERS, Midwest Secretary.

"The organization also submitted a financial statement for the period from January 1 to December 31, 1939. This statement was unsigned and it was not indicated that it had been prepared by any independent accountant. The statement follows:

#### RECEIPTS

Cash on hand January 1st, 1939		\$ 245.40
Contributions and Memberships		29,351.00
Sale of Literature		565.35
Postage (contributed)		750.00
Envelopes "	approximately	425.00
Printing "	"	1,750.00
Paper Stock "	"	700.00
		<hr/>
		\$44,787.25

... was originated in a large mass meeting, which was  
 organized jointly by **DISBURSEMENTS** ...

Fees for Speakers	676.65
Officers Salaries	8,557.50
Secretarial Salaries (New Haven)	1,164.50
Field Men and Speakers (Sal. & Exp.)	11,587.79
Printing	4,478.60
Express	64.21
Telephone & Telegraph	534.21
New York Office (Rent)	900.00
Office Supplies (New Haven)	72.31
New York Secretary (Salary)	997.15
New Haven Officer (Rent)	480.00
Postage	1,267.30
Automobile Expenses	576.60
Miscellaneous (Investigation)	
(Research)	
(Hotels)	
(R.R. etc.)	
<b>TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS</b>	<b>\$33,493.47</b>
<b>Balance-Cash on Hand</b>	<b>293.78</b>
	<b>\$33,787.25</b>

In October, 1940, the Better Business Bureau of Rochester informed us that the activities of one Frank Murphy, a representative of the subject had occasioned considerable criticism in Rochester.

"Quite recently, in an effort to bring our files up to date, we sent the subject a copy of our regular questionnaire calling for pertinent information regarding the organization's activities, solicitation methods, salaries paid to officers, financial condition, etc. The organization did not supply answers to our questions but did send the following statement:

"Supplementing the report that we furnished you a year or so ago, we are pleased to report, that during the past twelve months, we have distributed over five million pieces of literature. This includes booklets, pamphlets and "throw-aways". Aside from time, our speakers have appeared before hundreds of gatherings, ranging in size from twenty-five to five thousand people. In the state of Wisconsin during the winter and spring of 1940, one man spoke at the Assemblies of nearly one-half the schools and colleges; sometimes speaking as often as five times in one day. This effort in a given

100-15

ENCLOSURES:

To the Bureau:

One copy of each of the following:

1. Picture of clipping of Walter Winchell's Column in the "New Haven Register" dated Tuesday, March 31, 1942.
2. "How to Win the War and Lose What We are Fighting For"
3. "The Fifth Column in the South"
4. "The Fifth Column in Washington"
5. "The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America"
6. "The Fifth Column vs. The Dies Committee"

100-15

Confidential Informant T-1

Confidential Informant T-2

b6  
b7C  
b7D

100-15

The following undeveloped leads are set forth and are being held in abeyance in accordance with instructions of Bureau letter of 6/23/41 re: "Constitutional Educational League, Inc., et al, Internal Security - C".

THE NEW HAVEN FIELD DIVISION

AT NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Judge JOHN L. GILSON of the New Haven Probate Court will be contacted to ascertain his reason for resigning from the office of Chairman of the League.

Will

a mail cover

b7E

subversive organizations may be buying pamphlets from the League.

RECORDED

KCH:GAS  
61-10355-168

May 23, 1942

03249

Mr. Albert Newman  
c/o Newman's Furniture Division  
Joplin, Missouri

Dear Mr. Newman:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your  
communication dated May 9, 1942.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing  
this information to my attention are indeed appreci-  
ated, and you may be assured your letter will receive  
appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1/23/01 300603/EW-JAB/MC

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 6

★ MAY 25 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

117  
272  
4 MAY 29 1942

61-10355-168

1000



# NEWMAN'S

## Furniture Division

A DEPARTMENT OF THE NEWMAN MERCANTILE COMPANY

ON MAIN EIGHTH STREET  
JOPLIN, MISSOURI

May 9, 1942

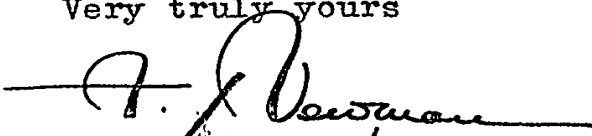
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 29063/EW JHL/NL

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I submit the enclosed booklet which has recently come to my attention, for your inspection. If this is not a seditious publication it comes mighty close to the border line and merits your thoughtful attention.

Very truly yours

  
Albert Newman

AN:D

RECORDED  
&  
INDEXED

61-10355-168

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

5 MAY 13 1942

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Complete Home Furnishing and Interior Decorating Service

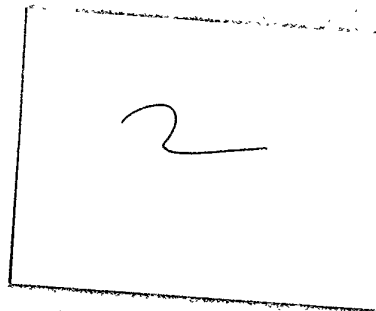
ENCLO. 5

51 NOV 22 1942

EX-18

MAY 29 RECD

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ECW/JAR/C



ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

61-10335-168



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

---

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61-10355-170

May 23, 1942

03248

Mr. Carl A. Tibell  
Arcade, New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
F-43-01-39003/EUW-JAK-R

Dear Mr. Tibell:

Please be advised that your communication dated May 10, 1942 directed to the Attorney General of the United States, has been referred to this Bureau.

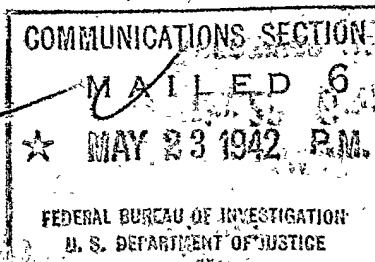
Your courtesy and interest in bringing this matter to the attention of the Federal Government are indeed appreciated. You may be assured that the content of your letter has been noted and will receive appropriate consideration.

Should you obtain any further information which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, please feel free to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, 400 U. S. Court House, Buffalo, New York.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Hoffman \_\_\_\_\_  
Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
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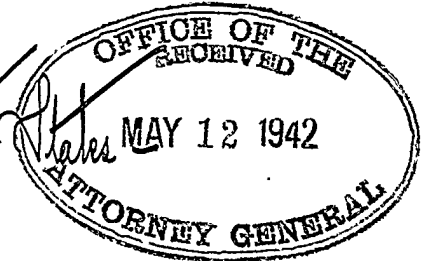
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Uncade, N. Y., May 10, 1942.

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ELW-JAR-NK  
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Hon. Francis Biddle,  
Attorney General of the United States



Dear Sir -

On May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1942, I placed in the hands of the Buffalo Office of the F.B.I. a pamphlet entitled "How To Win The War and  
What We are Fighting For" - authored by Joseph P. Kamp, and sent  
out to many womens organizations and clubs by the "Constitutional  
Educational League Inc., 342 Madison Ave., New York City.

This pamphlet contains scurrilous remarks attacking the men in  
charge of our war efforts, our allies, etc., and - not at all strange to  
notice, considering the author's sympathies - not one phrase that Berlin or  
Rome or Tokio would not approve 100%.

In view of the circulation of this Propaganda among the womens  
organizations of the state of New York - (and probably elsewhere in the  
nation) I believe that serious harm is being caused to our country's  
cause thereby.

As a citizen of United States, I respectfully request that  
you investigate - and if warranted by the facts - prosecute the person or  
persons guilty of this perversion of the truth by the Kamp Associates.

Respectfully

Carl A. Tibell.  
(CARL. A. TIBELL)

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MBE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
8 MAY 14 1942  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
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Arcade, N. Y., May 10, 1942.

Hon. Francis Biddle,  
Attorney General of the United States

Dear Sir -

On May 1st, 1942, I place in the hands of the Buffalo Office of the F. B. I. a pamphlet entitled "How To Win The War and Lose What We are Fighting For" - "authored" by Joseph P Kamp, and sent out to many womens organizations and clubs by the "Constitutional Educational League Inc." 342 Madison Ave., New York City.

This pamphlet contains scurrilous remarks attacking the men in charge of our war efforts, our allies, etc., and - not at all strange to notice, considering the author's sympathies - not one phrase that Berlin or Rome or Tokio would not approve 100 %.

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As a citizen of United States. I respectfully request that you investigate - and if warranted by the facts - prosecute the person or persons guilty of this perversion of the truth by the Kamp Associates.

Respectfully

Carl A. Tibell

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No envelope attached.

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May 26, 1942

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11/23/01 BY 3003/EWJAH/rb

Honorable Harold H. Burton  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Senator:

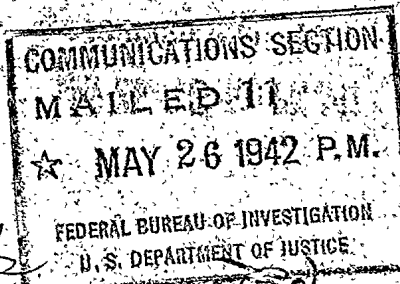
I have received your letter of May 13, 1942, with which you enclosed the material referred to by Mr. Raymond H. Waterfield of your office in his recent discussion with Inspector Robert C. Hendon of this Bureau.

I am very glad indeed that Mr. Hendon was able to furnish Mr. Waterfield with the available information which we had concerning this matter and I also appreciate your courtesy in making the communications available for the completion of our files.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



245 MAY 29 1942

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MAY 26 1942  
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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 ALEXANDER WILEY, WIS.  
 WILLIAM LANGER, N. DAK.  
 HAROLD H. BURTON, OHIO

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

BEN STERN, CLERK  
 DIX. W. PRICE, ASST. CLERK

May 13 1942

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
 Federal Bureau of Investigation  
 U. S. Department of Justice  
 Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 DATE 1-23-01 BY 39003/ELW-JAR-12

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Yesterday Maynard H. Waterfield of my staff discussed with R. C. Hendon, of your office, a matter about which Dr. Frederick May Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association, #25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, had written me. The Unitarian Church of which I am a member is affiliated with the American Unitarian Association, and I am a member of the Unitarian Service Committee, sponsored by the Association, and organized for work among refugee groups in this country and abroad.

The letter from Dr. Eliot, copy of which is enclosed, refers to a publication entitled "The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" published by the Constitutional Educational League, New Haven, Connecticut, which lists the American Unitarian Association on a so-called "Roll of Dishonor" made up of un-American groups. The matter was first called to the attention of Dr. Eliot by Percy W. Gardner, General Counsel for the American Unitarian Association, and I enclose also a copy of the letter from Mr. Gardner to Dr. Frederick May Eliot.

The courtesy which your office has shown me in this instance is much appreciated, and I will be glad to have any information as to the matter referred to, or the Constitutional Educational League which you may have, and which you may properly give me.

With personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

HB:W:p

enclosures.

*Harold H. Burton*  
 HAROLD H. BURTON  
 RECORDED & INDEXED  
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 MAY 19 1942  
 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
 EX-8

Rec'd by me from  
 JRC 2:00 PM 5/23/42



COPY

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

March 19 1942

My dear Senator Burton:

Mr. Percy W. Gardner, General Counsel, of the American Unitarian Association, has called to my attention a pamphlet entitled "The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America," published by the Constitutional Educational League, New Haven, Connecticut, in which the American Unitarian Association is included in what is called "A Roll of Dishonor," made up of communist, nazi, fascist, and other similar groups. In his letter, a copy of which I enclose, Mr. Gardner states that in his opinion this document is libelous so far as the American Unitarian Association is concerned, and I feel sure that you will agree with me that it is a most extraordinary thing to find our church included in such a category. It is not difficult to imagine what the people of the Unitarian Church in Cleveland would think and feel under these circumstances.

Mr. Gardner suggests that you might be willing to take this matter up directly with the head of the F.B.I., requesting him to direct an inquiry into this whole matter - an inquiry which would include both the American Unitarian Association and the Constitutional Educational League. I should like to add my strong personal word in behalf of this request.

I feel sure you will agree with me that this is no time for any organization to permit itself to be included in such a list of unAmerican organizations without the most vigorous kind of protest, and I very much hope you may be willing to take the initiative in bringing the matter to the attention of the proper authorities, in order that this unfounded accusation may be promptly and thoroughly disproved.

Faithfully yours

( signed ) Frederick May Eliot

Hon. Harold H. Burton  
Washington, D. C.

COPY

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61-10385-191

# COPY

## AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION

25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

May 19 1942

Rev. Frederick M. Eliot, D D  
25 Beacon Street,  
Boston, Mass.

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DATE 1/23/81 BY 39063/ELW JAK/11C

Dear Frederick:

Some time ago a pamphlet entitled, "The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" was brought to my attention as counsel for the American Unitarian Association. At the head of a long list of organizations is the following:

" In the Roll of Dishonor, listed below, will be found the more important Communist, Nazi, Fascist and native totalitarian groups, organizations, publications and institutions, together with affiliated, controlled or dominated ' united front, ' ' fellow-traveler, ' and ' transmission belt ' aggregations. Although promoting programs which sometimes appear to clash, and employing different means and methods, their collective goal is identical - they would undermine our Government, destroy it, and set up in its place a new system of society based upon the collective concepts of Karl Marx. These movements are THE DANGER SPOTS IN YOUR COMMUNITY. "

The latter phrase is in large, red type.

In this list appears the name of the American Unitarian Association.

The pamphlet is published by the Constitutional Educational League, 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

On writing to that address I was unable to learn the names of any of its officers. Assuming that it might be incorporated in Connecticut, I wrote to Hartford and learned there the names of its officers. I then wrote to each one of them asking them to inform me on what basis they included the Association in the list, pointing out the fact that the Association was organized in 1825, that it had always been devoted to religious work, and that it and its officers and members had always been loyal to the United States.

# COPY

-2-

Reve: Frederick M. Eliot

March 19 1942

On October 3rd I received a letter saying that Mr. Joseph P. Kamp was the author of the publication, and that he was in the South, and that on his return he would answer my communication. This he has never done.

A Unitarian not living in Boston came across this pamphlet, wrote to the organization, and was informed that they consider the Unitarian Society for Social Justice a radical society, that it is the same as the American Unitarian Association, and that that was the basis for including us in the pamphlet.

As you know, the Unitarian Society for Social Justice is an entirely distinct organization, having no legal connection, whatever, with the American Unitarian Association. Its members are, of course, Unitarians. That society, while promulgated by high officials in Washington, has certainly not been anti-American.

As a lawyer it is my opinion that, as far as the American Unitarian Association is concerned, this document is libelous. My experience is that libel suits are about the most futile and most unsatisfactory form of litigation that there is.

At the time when the pamphlet first came to my attention it did not seem important to press the matter too strongly. Since that time we have gone into the war. There is probably no religious organization in the United States that has been more whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of democracy than the American Unitarian Association. The work which our Service Committee has performed, with the full knowledge and approval of the State Department, during the past year and a half, is one of the best evidences of our complete and intelligent patriotism.

If these people are genuinely concerned to protect the United States, and are not simply trying to make money by getting out a pamphlet to sell, they ought to be willing to eliminate any name which unjustly included in the list.

I would welcome an investigation by the F.B.I. both of the Association and of the Constitutional Educational League insofar as it has seen fit to incorporate our name in the list. I would like to have such an investigation inaugurated from the top, rather than merely to go to some local agent.

COPY

-3-

Rev Frederick M. Eliot  
March 19 1942

It has occurred to me that if Senator Burton, whose church is a member of the Association and who is himself a member of our Service Committee, would go to the head of the F.B.I., setting forth the preliminary facts in connection with the Association, giving him, perhaps, our latest Year Book, and requesting him to direct an inquiry into this matter, it would be a helpful and a just thing to do. If you concur with me I would appreciate it if you would take the matter up with Senator Burton, sending him a copy of this letter and requesting him to inaugurate such a check up.

While I am not in the office in Boston daily, I am sure that both you and I would be more than glad to make an appointment with any representative of the F.B.I. to go into this matter in complete detail.

Sincerely

(signed) Percy W. Gardner.

C O P Y

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CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.

ORIGIN

The Constitutional Educational League was incorporated under the laws of the State of Connecticut in 1937. Its officers at that time were Joseph P. Kamp, Chairman, New York City; W. Byron Swartz, Vice President, Orange Connecticut; Chester A. Hanson, Treasurer and Agent, Milford, Connecticut; and Madelyn A. Carmon, Assistant Treasurer and Secretary, New Haven, Connecticut.

AIMS AND PURPOSES

It appears, however, that subject organization was in existence for a number of years prior to 1937, as an unincorporated body with headquarters in the First National Bank Building, New Haven, Connecticut. As such its indicated purpose under the direction of Chester A. Hanson and Joseph P. Kamp was to develop facts concerning the workings of Communist and other alien movements and to disseminate this information through every known means of public expression including newspapers, magazines, speakers and the radio.

At the time of its incorporation in 1937, the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., indicated that its corporate purposes were:

"To bring about a more complete understanding of the functions of our Government and the guarantees and provisions of its instrument, the Constitution of the United States; to inculcate patriotism and love of country; to investigate and expose the subversive elements which are seeking to undermine the faith of the American people in their institutions and to foster this general program through the medium of the spoken word."

In one of its circulars the League indicated that among its objectives were legislation to remove all Communists from public payrolls and a continuance of the Dies Committee with adequate funds for exposing all forms of subversive activity.

HEADQUARTERS

The League maintains its headquarters at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, at which its principal volume of business is conducted. In addition thereto, it maintains an office at 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut; and a branch office at Madison, Wisconsin, under the direction of John E. Waters, head of the midwestern district of the League. A southern branch which is now closed, was formerly maintained in Birmingham, Alabama.

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Efforts to establish offices in other cities of the United States appear to have been unsuccessful.

OFFICERS

The officers of the League at the time of its incorporation have heretofore been set forth. More recent information indicates that the officers of the League are as follows:

Chairman - Brigadier General Luke H. Callan, recent candidate for Governor of Rhode Island.

Executive Vice Chairman - Joseph P. Kamp, former Vice President, Kamp Construction Company and Editor and Publisher of "The Awakener" of New York City.

Vice Chairman - W. Byron Swartz, Byron Tire and Rubber Company, New Haven, Connecticut.

Vice Chairman - Judge Leonard McMahon, Danbury, Connecticut.

Secretary Southern Department - Mildred M. Hall, Birmingham, Alabama.

Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer - Madelyn Cannon.

Midwest Secretary - John E Waters, Madison, Wisconsin.

It has been reported that many of the committeemen of the League have been active in veteran circles and have included Major General R. E. Noble, former Surgeon General of the United States Army and Commander Nelson Pickering, a Connecticut manufacturer.

Under the actual leadership of Joseph P. Kamp, the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., has been conducting most of its business at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

From the inside cover of the booklet "The Fifth Column in Washington" published in June 1940, by the League, the following brief history of Kamp appears:

"In 1933 - 1934, Mr. Kamp was Executive Vice President of the Robert J. Wagner Democratic Association in the democratic stronghold of the Nation, Senator Robert J. Wagner's district. In September 1934, he was named Secretary of the General Committee of the Westchester County New York democratic organization; a designation which, however, he was unable to accept. An editor of newspapers and magazines and for more than twenty years a student of subversive movements, he writes with authority."

Until 1937, Kamp was Executive Editor and Publisher of the now defunct magazine "Awakener" which is described by the publication "The Hour" as having been a Fascist magazine. Associated with Kamp in his publication of the "Awakener" was Harold Lloyd Barney. Barney was connected with the Italian Historical Society of New York and collaborated with Kamp in the publication of the pamphlet entitled "Join The CIO and Help Build a Soviet America."

"The Hour", which is a mimeographed publication reported to be subsidized by the anti-Defamation League, claims in the issue of August 17, 1940, that Kamp was one of the sponsors of the "pro-America mass meeting" which was addressed by Major John E. Kelley identified as a Fascist of Jersey City, New Jersey, who has spoken before meetings of the German-American Bund and the Christian Front. Kamp is known to have distributed anti-Semitic literature. At one time he concentrated on the distribution of the forged "Benjamin Franklin letter" relative to the Jews. Another anti-Semitic publication which Kamp distributed was "Why Are the Jews Persecuted for Their Religion?" "The Hour" further states that Kamp is known to have cooperated with William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts. He is reported to be an intimate acquaintance of Elizabeth Dilling, the author of the "Red Network."

Information which is unverified has been received to the effect that Kamp has an autographed photograph of Adolph Hitler in his office at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

John E. Waters who is the midwest Chairman of the League at Madison, Wisconsin, published a booklet called "Red Justice". The advertisement of this book states that Waters travelled in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1931. He is reported to be well educated and to be a prolific "ghost writer" who has made numerous speeches against Communism. There is some indication that Waters may entertain mildly pro-German sentiments and he is regarded as being one hundred percent anti-Communist.

#### ACTIVITIES

The activities of the League date back approximately ten years prior to its incorporation. It appears to be a radical, anti-Communist organization. Its leaders are belligerent in writing and in speech against Communism. Among the publications issued by this League are:

- "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" (1937)
- "The Hell of Herrin....Rages Again" (1937)
- "Headlines and What's Behind Them" (1939)
- "The Fifth Column in Washington!" (1940)



"The Fifth Column in the South" (1940)  
"The Fifth Column versus the Dies Committee" (1941)  
"The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" (1941)  
"Why Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting for" (1942)

"Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" and "The Hell of Herrin....Rages Again" both attack John L. Lewis and the CIO. Lewis is accused of being "communistically inclined" and "a traitor to labor." It is a definite attempt to show that the CIO is a Communist front group.

"The Fifth Column in Washington" was published in June 1940, and contains a list of employees of the Government who are alleged to be Communists or Communist sympathizers. Among those listed are Robert Lovett, Secretary of the Virgin Islands; Robert H. Jackson, then Attorney General of the United States; Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; and Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor. This booklet also stated that no criticism can be made of the excellent work done by the FBI but it must be remembered that the Director is a subordinate of the Attorney General and the FBI by itself is helpless.

"The Fifth Column in the South" points out the alleged dangerous growth of Communism in that part of the country and accuses Mrs. Roosevelt of heading the Communist movement by her financial assistance to the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee. It also attacks the spread of the CIO through the South and states that the Communists and the CIO were working together particularly among the southern negroes.

"The Fifth Column versus The Dies Committee" advocates continuance of this committee. It accuses the Department of Justice of alleged attempts to bring the Dies Committee into ill repute.

"The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" is a map which purports to indicate the various Nazi, Fascist, and Communist spots in the United States.

"The pamphlet "Why Win the war and Lose What We're Fighting For" seems to be a follow-up to the pamphlet "The Fifth Column in Washington." It reiterates in substance the complaint of the Dies Committee that "Reds" have infiltrated into leading positions in our government. It concludes with a form letter on the back page urging the President "to purge the government of these un-American elements." It requests that this letter be sent to the President.



The letterhead of the League reflects it was founded in 1919 as a non-political and a non-profit organization. In the immediate years prior to its incorporation in 1937 and for a time thereafter it had a group of sponsors. Concerning these original sponsors the Chamber of Commerce, New Haven, Connecticut, reports they appear above question. It is rumored that many of them resigned because the group had strayed from its original purpose.

The League is operated by Joseph P. Kamp at New York City, where the volume of the business is conducted by Chester A. Hanson, Secretary at New Haven, Connecticut; and by John E. Waters, the Midwestern head at Madison, Wisconsin. The New Haven branch appears more active than the Madison office. Kamp appears to be the leader of the League.

Numerous reports have been received that the organization is pro-Axis. To date no information has been developed indicating the League is a subversive organization. On one occasion Gerald B. Winrod, Wichita, Kansas, wrote a form letter endorsing the League's publication "The Fifth Column in Washington."

In a letter to the National Better Business Bureau in 1938, the League claimed it secured 4,000,000 signatures to a petition to continue the Dies Committee. During 1939, the League claimed that it had distributed 6,000,000 pieces of literature.

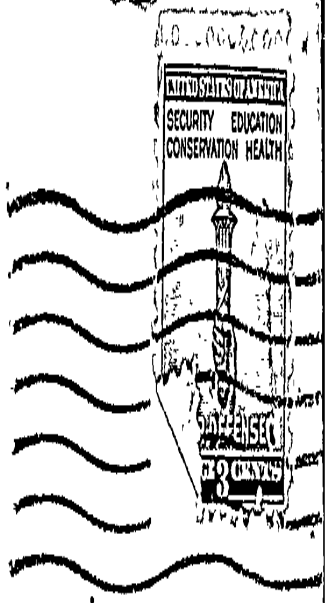
#### FINANCES

The publications of this organization have a stated price of 25¢ per copy although there is some indication that this literature is distributed gratis.

The organization claims that its receipts for 1934 totaled \$7,000 of which \$5,000 was listed as derived from "memberships." One source in January, 1938, reported the League's assets as \$55,000. Receipts from contributions were listed as \$36,600, and receipts from sale of literature as \$19,100. It claims receipts in 1939 of \$33,750; contributions and memberships are listed as \$29,350; and that in 1940 it received over \$600,000 in contributions.

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
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ANONYMOUS COMMUNICATION  
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*The Constitutional Educational League, Inc.*

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAY 23 1942

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

61-10353-172

SMITH - RULE FURNITURE CO., INC.

"Home Outfitters"

Clifton Forge, Virginia May 15th. 1942

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director FBI  
Washington, D. C.

Dear sir;

61-10355-165

I have your reply to my letter of the 30th. of April, your's of the 12th.

I understand the situation and am glad to feel that you have the organization among your files.

It could be a German or Japanese propaganda outfit and I am inclined to believe it is. Some phrases in the pamphlet I recieved make you think it may be strictly a partisan political propaganda outfit and still others make you inclined to think it religious.

The pamphlet I recieved is edited by one Joseph P. Kamp, "HOW TO WIN THE WAR and loose what we are fighting for."

My interest in the whole affair is to report the reception of the pamphlet to you and start proper investigation by your men.

If you need the pamphlet I will be glad to mail it to you; presuming of course that it is proper to mail such items without being liable for prosecution.

Assuring you that I am trying to do nothing that will confuse our war effort, I remain,

Yours very truly,

W. A. Rule (W. A. Rule)

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ELW-DAR

Clifton Forge, Va.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

EX-15

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
Grand Rapids, Michigan  
May 23, 1942

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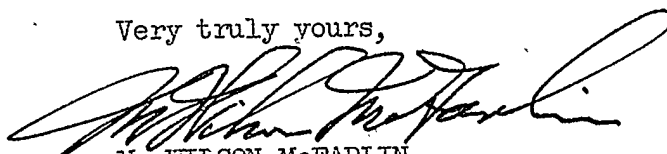
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: <sup>0</sup> CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE, INC.;  
INTERNAL SECURITY

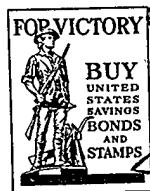
Dear Sir:

In conformity with instruction received from Inspector EGAN during a recent inspection of the Grand Rapids Field Division the bulky exhibits of the instant case, consisting of a packet of miscellaneous literature put out by the Constitutional League, will be destroyed June 15, 1942 unless advice to the contrary is received from the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

  
M. WILSON MCFARLIN  
Special Agent in Charge

MWM:GLD  
100-1068



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4 JUN 23 1942

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EX-15  
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61-10355-174  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
5 MAY 26 1942  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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61-10355-173  
JPC:VEW

June 3, 1942

Mr. W. A. Rule  
Post Office Box 544  
Clifton Forge, Virginia

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-23-01 BY 3903LEW JPK-16

Dear Mr. Rule:

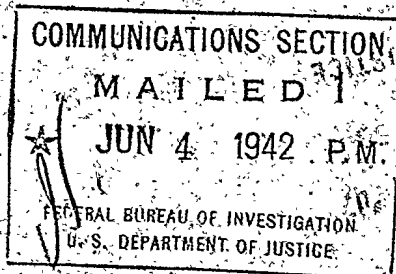
I wish to acknowledge receipt of your  
communication of recent date.

Your courtesy and interest in bringing  
this information to my attention are indeed appreci-  
ated, and you may be assured your letter will receive  
appropriate consideration.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
E.A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
endon \_\_\_\_\_  
ramer \_\_\_\_\_  
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inn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
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ndy \_\_\_\_\_



JUN 8 1942

DEPT. OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED - NEW YORK  
JUN 4 11 07 AM '42

*Eat*

*W. A. Rule*

*gme*

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 390631EW JAK/2

Lakeside, Calif.  
June 3, 1942.

Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Probably a copy of the enclosed pamphlet reached you before it began to circulate in this far away section of our country, but just in case it did not, I am sending you the one which came into my hands. I regret to say that two excellent citizens who read it before I did, took its statements seriously--not thinking that it was Axis propaganda.

Very truly yours,

*Josephine D. Curtis*

Mrs. George D. Curtis.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED 13

☆ JUN 17 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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61-10355-175  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

6 JUN 9 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-18

JUN 20 1942

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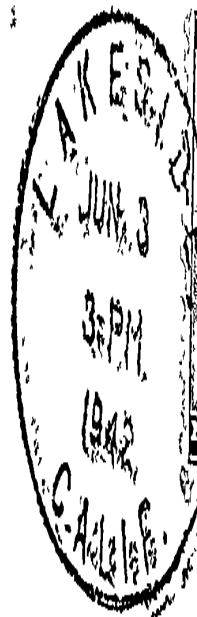
ENCLOSURE

61-10355-175

After 5 days, return to

.....  
Mrs. George D. Curtis.  
.....

LAKESIDE, CALIFORNIA.



Federal Bureau of Investigation,

Washington, D. C.

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 3906/LEW MK-7c

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
400 UNITED STATES COURT HOUSE  
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

FCF:MLH  
100-143

June 8, 1942

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ELW/JAR-NC

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

Dear Sir:

On May 1, 1942, Mr. CARL ANTHONY TIVELL, a registered Architect from Arcade, New York, called at the office of the Buffalo Field Division and turned over to agent, a copy of the pamphlet "HOW TO WIN THE WAR AND LOSE WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR".

It was Mr. TIVELL'S recollection that JOSEPH P. KAMP, writer of the pamphlet for the Constitutional Educational League had been a DIES witness at some time in the past. Mr. TIVELL indicated that this was the first pamphlet he had received from the organization and in his opinion it contained material of a seditious nature. The pamphlet had been accompanied by a petition to the President, urging the President to purge the government of un-American elements.

This pamphlet is being furnished to the Bureau herewith.

Very truly yours,

*K. M. Pifer*

K. M. PIPER,  
Special Agent in Charge

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

Enclosure det.

pub. file  
6-15-42  
H. R. M.



5 JUN 16 1942

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&  
INDEXED

61-10355-176  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
JUN 10 1942

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603/EW-TAK-NC



NOT RECORDED

25 JUN 18 1942

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
POST OFFICE BOX 812  
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

June 20, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/23/01 BY 39003/ELW-JAR-NC

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Inc.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing herewith a pamphlet entitled  
"How to Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting For?",  
which has been published and is being distributed by  
the Constitutional Educational League, Inc.

This pamphlet was forwarded by Mr. Starr  
Kealhofer, Box 11, Austin, Texas, of the Kiwanis Club  
of Austin, Texas, to Mr. James H. Lake, Manager, Research  
Department of Kiwanis International, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Lake in turn forwarded this pamphlet  
to this office. Mr. Kealhofer and Mr. Lake in their  
correspondence both express the opinion that if the  
charges in this pamphlet are true, that something ought  
to be done about it, while on the other hand, if these  
charges are false, the pamphlet would fall into the  
category of malicious enemy propaganda.

COPIES DESTROYED  
R 171 JUN 21 1961

No comment has been made by this office to  
Mr. Lake relative to the background of the Constitutional  
Educational League. However, it is deemed advisable to call  
this matter to the attention of the Bureau in view of Mr.  
Lake's position with Kiwanis International, and his state-  
ment to the effect that if the charges are true that some-  
thing should be done about it, indicating somewhat that  
Kiwanis International might interest themselves in curbing  
such publications.

Very truly yours,

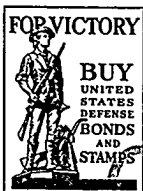
A. H. JOHNSON  
Special Agent in Charge

67-10355-178  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JUN 26 1942

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

in Charge



55 JUL 25 1942

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&  
INDEXED

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 29063/ENOPR JK

4



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61-10355-178

ENCLOSURE

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**

633 Federal Building  
Louisville, Kentucky

June 26, 1942

Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

RE: COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
STATE OF KENTUCKY  
INTERNAL SECURITY R

Dear Sir:

There is enclosed a copy of the publication entitled "WHY WIN THE WAR ... AND LOSE WHAT WE'RE FIGHTING FOR?" published by the Constitutional Educational League, Incorporated, with national headquarters at 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut, obtained from Mr. C. R. DINWIDDIE, who in the past has received much literature from the Fellowship Press at Noblesville, Indiana and who is interested in donating propaganda which is somewhat anti-Semitic.

Very truly yours,

*H. K. Moss*  
H. K. MOSS,  
Special Agent in Charge.

GBC tw  
100-213  
Enclosure

*Encl. det.  
pub. files  
7-1-42  
R.H.M.*

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ELW JAR-NC

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&  
INDEXED

61-10355-179

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 JUN 29 1942
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX-11

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R 171 JUN 15 1961

DAF:IS

61-10355-167

July 16, 1942

RECORDED

Special Agent in Charge  
New Haven, Connecticut

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 1-23-01 BY 38003/ELW-JAN-16

RE: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC., Et Al.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - G

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent H. C. Laduke, dated May 6, 1942, at New Haven, Connecticut.

It is noted from a review of this report that undeveloped leads are set forth with a statement they were being held in abeyance in accordance with instructions contained in Bureau letter dated June 23, 1941. Prior Bureau instructions were not intended to preclude any logical inquiries concerning the captioned group at a later date, and consequently the undeveloped leads contained in reference report, as well as any other pertinent investigation, should be made by your office.

The approach to Judge John L. Gilson, concerning his resignation as Chairman of the Constitutional Educational League should be extremely discreet, since it is entirely possible that he will discuss this matter with his former associates. It is being left to your discretion, however, as to whether this approach can be made without subsequent embarrassment to the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

COPIES DESTROYED

8-171 JUN 21 1961

Mr. E. A. Tamm

Mr. Clegg

Mr. Glavin

Mr. Ladd

Mr. Nichols

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Tracy

Mr. Carson

Mr. Coffey

Mr. Hendon

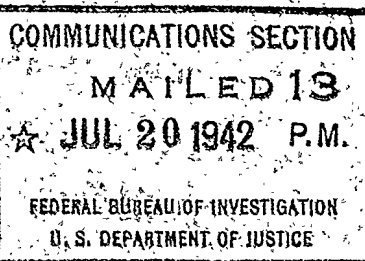
Mr. Kramer

Mr. McGuire

Mr. Quinn Tamm

Mr. Nease

Miss Gandy



U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 2903 EWN/SAL/N

3



ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

61-10353-180

# COUNCIL OF DEFENSE

BROAD STREET STATION

PHILADELPHIA, PA.



Mr. J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ELW/TAR/K

*in this envelope*  
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DATE 1-23-01 BY 29003 LEW/SP2-12

*Enclosure removed  
for transmittal to Command  
Division - 1-4-45*

*See 61-10355-1, 75 for  
duplicate pamphlet*

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-180

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

---

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO AVOID

PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300

Constitutional Educational League, Inc.

342 Madison Ave.,

New York, N. Y.



CHURCH ST  
ANNE



Mr. E. Winsor,  
Ardmore, Penna.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED in this envelope  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063/ew/OM:dk

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Post Office Box 812  
Chicago Illinois  
July 21, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-23-01 BY 3902/ELW/KAR/NU

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

RE: <sup>O</sup> CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.;  
JOSEPH P. OKAMP, et al -  
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)

There are being transmitted herewith photostatic copies of certain articles and memoranda recently furnished the Chicago Field Office by Miles M. Goldberg of the Anti-Defamation League, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, concerning the above organization and individuals. Three photostatic copies have been prepared, one copy of which is being sent to the New Haven Field Office for its information, as it appears the national headquarters of subject organization is located in the First National Bank Building, New Haven, Connecticut. One photostatic copy will be retained in the files of the Chicago Field Office. In accordance with Mr. Goldberg's request, the originals of this data are being returned to him.

Unless advised to the contrary, no further investigation will be conducted by this office.

Very truly yours,

*A. H. Johnson*

A. H. JOHNSON,  
Special Agent in Charge.

1 ENCL. 17  
RWA: MJ  
enc.  
cc New Haven (enc)  
100-1914  
53 AUG 4 1942  
pg 114



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R 171 JUN 15 1961

RECORDED & INDEXED  
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61-10355-181  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
17 JUL 23 1942  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
FIVE

## CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

The Constitutional Educational League was incorporated in New Haven, Conn. Joseph Kamp is vice-chairman and Chester Hanson is secretary. The New York headquarters are at 342 Madison Ave., New York City; the National Office is in the First National Bank Building, New Haven, Conn.; the Midwest headquarters are in the Pioneer Building, Madison, Wis.; and the Southern headquarters are in the First National Building, Birmingham, Ala.

In the attacks of the League (which is anti-C.I.O. in all its literature) it is guilty of the grossest kind of exaggeration and misrepresentation. While it does not come out in any anti-Semitic attacks, we have some correspondence which reveals that the Constitutional Educational League does not hesitate frequently to refer people to certain anti-Semitic agencies for information which the League itself does not possess. In one instance, at least, it referred with regret to the demise of "The Awakener" magazine which was viciously anti-Semitic.

The James True Industrial Control Report of November 13, 1937 contained the following:

"Shutting Off the Opposition: Tuesday, the Senate Civil Liberties (La Follette) Committee announced that subpoenas had been served on the National Civic Federation, the Constitutional Educational League of New Haven, the National Association of Manufacturers of New York, the Johnstown, Pa. Chamber of Commerce, the League for Industrial Rights (N.Y.), the New York State Economic Council, George Williams & Company, and various 'unnamed individuals'....."

A letter dated July 14, 1937 from Charles A. Lindley, 33 E. 51st St., New York City, recommends that the correspondent contact the Constitutional Educational League in regard to the Fascist set-up...However, the address given by Lindley for the League is 18 E. 48th St., which is the address of John B. Snow's League for Constitutional Government. Lindley, incidentally, is tied up with Col. Sanctuary and Edmondson.

A letter of December 26, 1937 from Charles Milton Newcomb, who has an important tie-up with William Dudley Pelley and men of his calibre, conveys information to Kansas City contact that Newcomb recommends for reading and distribution purposes printed matter put out by the Constitutional Educational League and other organizations.....Newcomb's residence is in Candler, N. C.

February 24, 1938 the Middletown, Ohio Post of the American Legion sent out a circular letter in which it exposes Kunze's reason for speaking in Hamilton, Ohio on March 16, 1938. The letter quotes the Constitutional Educational League in connection with opposing Communist activity in the U. S.

61-10355-181

## CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

The Constitutional Educational League was one of the several groups which participated in the pro-American rally held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, on Sunday, October 30, 1938. Other participating bodies were The Protestant War Veterans, American Patriots (which was really the sponsoring organization) and others of a similar character.

A report of April, 1939 on the League, which at that time had offices in the Protective Life Bldg., Birmingham, Alabama, revealed that the only organization with a name similar to the Constitutional League was listed in the Birmingham City Directory for 1938 as the Constitutional Educational League with offices in Rooms 207-208. Fred R. Marvin was listed as residing at 3831 Highland Ave., Apt. 419, and was named as Field Director, and Mildred Hall, listed as residing at 2001 Fifth Ave., is listed as secretary. Further investigation revealed that the Constitutional Educational League vacated Rooms 207-208 several months ago and the new location is unknown. Investigation at 3831 Highland revealed that Marvin no longer occupied Apartment 419 or any apartment in the building. His present address was unknown. Investigation at 2001 Fifth Ave. No., which is the Tutwiler Hotel, showed that Mildred Hall no longer lived there. Investigation at the Birmingham post office failed to show any such organization as the Constitutional Educational League receiving mail.

Ken Magazine issue of April 20, 1939, page 51, had a note on the Constitutional Educational League, "exposed as one of nation's most active anti-strike, anti-labor propagandizers by the LaFollette committee, is circulating Congress with elaborate patch work reproductions of weird charges by Dies Committee witnesses."

On March 21, 1939, an informant from [redacted] said that he was visited by an agent of the Constitutional Educational League who claimed his organization was concerned with educating the people and giving them first-hand information, especially headlines emanating from the Dies' Investigation so that the Constitution might be preserved. Our informant said he saw a list of contributors he had enlisted in [redacted] and they are very powerful men, not a one of whom would seriously be concerned in defending Jews against defamation; although they are not the type who would stand up in the front ranks and fire inflammatory remarks.

b7D

Per news item "Communist Fronts Listed by Speaker" from the Bulletin - March 20, 1940 - New Haven, Conn. A. Cloyd Gill, director of research for the Constitutional Educational League, delivered an address before the Women's National Defense Committee of Philadelphia, listing Communistic Fronts and declaring that members of the movement were enemies "whether the masquerade as New Deal Democrats, Progressive Republicans or Socialists." The Fronts listed included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Admiral Richard Byrd, Frank E. Gannett, Major General Smedley D. Butler, Gen. John F. O'Ryan and the American Friends Service Committee.

Joseph P. Kamp.

Kamp is the author of the largest part of the literature distributed



## CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

by the Constitutional Educational League. Many of Kamp's contacts have not been so good. One close friend of his, a Mrs. Schuyler, was spreading the story that the international Jews held a \$15,000,000 mortgage on the Vatican. In December, 1940 he was one of Gen. George Van Horn Moseley's sponsors when the latter delivered his anti-Semitic and anti-Government speech at the Hotel Biltmore in New York. Kamp was one of the sponsors of the "Pro-American Mass Meeting" on May 24, 1939, which was addressed by Pelley and McWilliams. His main efforts were once concentrated on the forged "Benjamin Franklin letter in which enterprise he cooperated with Pelley. Kamp has also distributed numerous copies of a pamphlet entitled "Why Are the Jews Persecuted for Their Religion?" Kamp's work has been praised by James True and his publications are sold and distributed by Allen Zoll, John Cecil, etc. Rev. Edward Lodge Curran and Patrick Scanlon are intimate associates of Kamp. Kamp once had the audacity to approach certain wealthy Jews for financial contributions "to support the League's pro-Constitutional work" but his efforts resulted in failure.

Joseph Kamp addressed a mass meeting conducted by the Wyoming Valley Citizens Committee in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. on March 30, 1939 at which time he stated his position as follows: There are approximately seven thousand Communists in the U. S. on the official record; but by boring withing such organizations as the American League for Peace and Democracy, etc. there are hundreds of thousands, and perhaps millions, engaged in the movement....that there are no more than five thousand Fascists in the U.S.... In opening his address he stated that he had been accused of being a Fascist, a Nazi and everything else that was bad, but that he was neither of these and that he was simply an advocate of Americanism. He stated he is one hundred per cent in favor of Fascism for Italy, Naziism for Germany, and that he is against them for the United States.

### Literature Distribution

The League published and distributed a pamphlet written by Hon. Clare E. Hoffman, Congressman from Michigan, called "Battalion of Death." This booklet is anti-Communist. Hoffman's material is also distributed by the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation headed by Harry A. Jung.

The League also published and distributed "Our American Heritage" - a message to Foreign-born and to their sons and daughters, a radio address delivered by Dr. H. W. Benjamin.

Another pamphlet printed by the League and also distributed by them is "Communism's Iron Grip on the C.I.O." from the Congressional Record. This leaflet was mentioned on a list of recommended literature sent from Rev. A. A. Depping to J. N. Wilkerson, October 26, 1939.

The League published a pamphlet entitled "The Subversive Peace Campaigns - A Hindrance to Adequate National Defense" - a radio address delivered on March 25, 1937, by Lt. Col. Theodore Crane. In this pamphlet Crane criticized all organization's pacifists. "...every dollar contributed

# CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

to societies like the American League Against War and Fascism is a dollar contributed directly or indirectly toward the Sovietizing of America."

The League published "Headlines" - an eight page anti-Roosevelt Tabloid. In an effort to enlist support the League circularized certain Wall Street offices with documents purporting to show the League's patriotic accomplishments.

"The Awakener" was also connected with the Constitutional Educational League. This was published for two years, ending June, 1936, when Lawrence Dennis, one of its editors, joined the staff of the Mercury Magazine. Dennis later published a book entitled "The Coming American Fascism". "The Awakener" was published from 110 W. 42nd St., New York City, which is also an address for the Constitutional Educational League. An article in the World Telegram stated that among the contributors to "The Awakener" were such people as Sen. W. E. Barbour, Sen. L. J. Dickinson, former Solicitor-General James M. Beck, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Roger W. Babson, and Henry L. Stoddard, former publisher of the Evening Mail. Labor Fact Book for 1935 states that the editor of "The Awakener" is Harold Lord Varney, and ex-member of International Workers of the World. Associates were Lawrence Dennis and Demarest Lloyd. The Executive Editor was Joseph P. Kamp and his address was given as 225 Fifth Ave., New York City.

The organization was being aided by the Associated Willkie Clubs who were distributing Kamp's "Fifth Column in Washington." An informant   Gill is working in the same office with Kamp at present. Kamp received a telephone call from one of the Associated Willkie Clubs in Texas ordering 1,000 copies of this booklet. "Fifth Column in Washington" by Kamp lists government employees with alleged communistic sympathies and 563 New-Deal employees found by the Dies Committee to be members of the American League for Peace and Democracy. Gerald Winrod is assisting Kamp in distributing this booklet. Winrod issued a circular publicizing the booklet and offering it for sale in quantity lots. On August 28, 1940, The Tribune of South Bend, Indiana devoted a full column of praise to the booklet "The Fifth Column in Washington." Publicity in the Tribune was a strong endorsement by the newspaper itself of this booklet, which was being distributed by Christian Fronters and their Nazi cohorts.

b7D

Kamp was the author of a pamphlet published by the League called "Join the C.I.O. and Help Build a Soviet America."

Author of pamphlet entitled "The Fifth Column Stops Defense" - re charge that the Communist Party, working under the auspices of the C.I.O., is instigating strikes to sabotage the program of national defense.

"The Fifth Column In the South" by Kamp attacks Communism and the C.I.O. It pictures the peril to the South as emanating from democratic and labor forces with "Red" instigators. Winrod and the Defender Publishers distributed it. Sanctuary claimed that a wealthy man from the South put up five thousand dollars for the distribution of fifty thousand copies of Kamp's

# CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

"Fifth Column in the South." At a meeting, April, 1941, of the American Destiny Party, Juenamann said that A. Cloyd Gill wrote "Fifth Column in The South" and not Kamp. However, that does not make much difference since they both collaborate on most of the work.

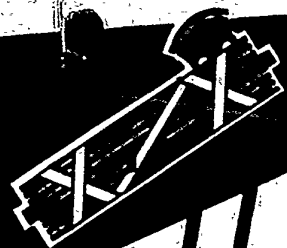
Kamp's book "The Fifth Column vs the Dies Committee" is an attack on Gardner Jackson, the Labor representative in Washington. Kamp has been associated with the Krump machine, the notorious political gang in Memphis, Tenn. There are various documents indicating Kamp's association with this group for the purpose of writing propaganda material. In February, 1941 this booklet, "The Fifth Column vs. the Dies Committee" was being distributed free of charge.

Other literature distributed by this organization is "Butter, Shoes, A Radio, and a Car.", "Story Behind the Constitution" - a radio address delivered over WMCA March 23, 1937 by Hon. Leonard McMahon; "Stop Lewis and Smash Communism", and "Fifth Column Conspiracy in America."

Material from this organization was distributed and sold at a meeting of the Anti-Communist Society - March 20, 1940.

Kamp has his pamphlets printed by the Lino Press, 411 Pearl St., New York City.

The Constitutional Educational League is listed in a pamphlet "A Confidential Statement Concerning Pro-Nazi and Anti-Semitic Organizations" as being definitely Fascistic.



# The FIFTH COLUMN CONSPIRACY

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 3902/212/10/01/01

IN



# America

AUTHENTIC  
**MAP** and  
**DIRECTORY**

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

# Stop Lewis

and

## Smash Communism!

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DATE 1/26/01 BY 9402/le  
ORW

**Program**  
OF THE

**CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE**  
INC.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG.  
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

**BEHIND THE**

**WMCA**

by



★

THE INFORMATION COMPANY  
CLASSIFIED BY 60388  
EXEMPT FROM GDS

\*\*\*\*\*  
**CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE**  
 INCORPORATED  
 NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT  
 \*\*\*\*\*

# BATTALIONS of DEATH

THE DESTROYERS ARE MARCHING

by  
HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN  
CONGRESSMAN FROM MICHIGAN





JOIN THE  
C.I.O.

And help build a  
SOVIET

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 39003 BWA/DR  
R



ALL THE  
FACTS  
THAT  
SHOULD BE  
PRINTED

# HEADLINES

AND WHAT'S BEHIND THEM

FOR  
SPEAKERS  
WRITERS  
AND  
STUDENTS

VOL. II No. 1

Published by The CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Incorporated

MARCH 25, 1939

## Taxpayers Pay For Red Propaganda and Filth

### WPA "Writer" Helps Organize New Jersey Revolt

Works Under Communist Party  
Instructions on Project Time  
While on Government Payroll

New York.—Congressmen J. Parnell Thomas and Joe Starnes, members of the Dies Committee, just couldn't believe their ears as they listened to the testimony. Still, the witness, elderly, soft spoken, dignified and intelligent, Edwin P. Banta, should know what he was talking about, they felt. He had been on the Writers' Project for almost three years and was a member of the Communist Party until he began giving information to the Dies investigators.

Banta was telling them that Irving Nicholson, a senior newspaperman on the Writers' Project for two years, had been ordered by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to "bring about a state of revolution" in New Jersey by organizing "Communist activities" and "strikes." He said, too, that under instructions from Communist Party leaders, Nicholson had even arranged to have two Congressmen, with Leftist sympathies, come to New Jersey to help out.

The witness hadn't said no, but there was an intimation that Nicholson's agitational activities had been carried on while he was on Government pay. This was just too fantastic—utterly unbelievable, and Congressman Starnes wanted to keep the record straight. So he interposed:

"I cannot see that that has any relevancy, unless at the same time he was on the writers' project. Was he receiving pay on the writers' project at that time?"

"He was," said the witness.

(Continued on page six)

### THE TRUTH ABOUT THE W. P. A. WRITERS' PROJECT

W. P. A. Inquiry Likely To  
Be Answered to Roosevelt  
Congress Economy Bloc Says Investigation Is Only

### Communists Kidnap Dies Witness Who Testified About Red Writers

New York.—Edwin P. Banta was an important witness in the investigation into un-American activities. Within three weeks after he first began, with the utmost secrecy, to give evidence of Communist influence and agitation on the Writers' Project to the Dies Committee, he became the victim of Red terrorists. Lured to a section headquarters of the Communist Party at 141 East 29th Street by a ruse, he was roughly handled, threatened with physical violence, abused and intimidated, photographed against his will and held prisoner.

This bold and amazing attempt of the Communists to interfere with the Dies investigation came to light when Congressman Joe Starnes at an open hearing asked Banta:

"After you were called in and statements were taken from you, were you approached by any person or group of persons with an attempt to intimidate you because of the

testimony that you had given, or were supposed to have given the Committee?"

In answer, the witness, who formerly worked on New York newspapers declared that he had been held prisoner in a back room for two and a half hours "by actual physical force;" that Sam Brown who is the New York County organizer for the Communist Party, a girl carrying with her what developed to be a stenotype machine, a Negro and two other members of the Communist Party took him into the room; that after the door was locked, one of them shouted: "You're all through, you s— of a b—." We have got you here because you're a stool pigeon." Banta had joined the Communist Party "to find out what was going on" a few months after being employed with the Writers' Project, when it was organized in October, 1935.

Using language that is unprintable, he testified, they tried to make him "confess"; sought to force him to tell what he had divulged, and demanded he surrender his private papers, meanwhile plying him with filthy epithets.

Despite his protests, he was backed into a corner and, while he tried to protect himself with a chair, his photograph was taken several times. A few days later the *Daily Worker*, Communist organ, carried his picture under the caption: "Workers' Enemy

Banta testified that he was kidnapped by the Communist Party and held prisoner in a back room for two and a half hours.

### High Officials Are Accused in Secret Testimony

FILTH UNPRINTABLE

Federal Executive Demoted  
After Making Open Protest

WASHINGTON.—With the almost certain knowledge their jobs would be taken from them if it became known that they were giving evidence in the Dies investigation, three employees of the Federal Writers' Project headquarters appeared before the Committee in secret session and gave testimony which definitely established the fact that project facilities, personnel and publications, were being used to spread Communist propaganda throughout the country.

"Would you say," Chairman Dies asked one of these witnesses, "that any of the material as finally approved by the Washington office or by Mr. Alsberg constituted appeal to class hatred?"

"Yes; definitely," answered Mrs. Louise Laxell, a friend of Mrs. Roosevelt's who came to the Writers' Project after writing speeches for the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee.

Admitting there were "Communist teachings or phraseology" in the Guide; that business and industry were pictured as "being the enemy of the masses of the people," and that Writers' Project material cham

(Continued on page nine)

### Bundle Wrapper For Red "Daily" Is Project Chief

Never Wrote a Line for Publication Yet Passes on All Manuscripts and Personae

New York.—The career of Nicholas Wirth, nee Moscovitz, Managing Editor of the Federal Writers' Project, proves conclusively that America is still a land of opportunity—for Communists. Here is modern Horatio Alger hero in the flesh. His rise from bundle wrapper to boss, in nothing flat, demonstrates that even on WPA you can go places if you have the right connections. His rise to Chief Editor is a

### NOT THE WHOLE TRUTH

We are actually ashamed to reprint some of the "creative" writing which has been produced with the taxpayers' money. It is unfit for decent people to read. It is putrid. And yet YOU, whoever you are, helped to pay for it. In a sense, because of your apathy, disinterest and inaction, you are responsible.

Perhaps you may think we're laying it on thick. Maybe it isn't as

Well, if you're from Missouri and want to see if you can take it, just write to HEADLINES and we'll send you a copy of the Central Bulletin containing repro-

material in question. But remember

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE

INC.

First National Bank Bldg.  
NEW HAVEN, CONN

Office of:

Joseph P. Kamp  
Vice-Chairman

Address reply to:  
NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS  
225 Fifth Avenue  
New York

July 13, 1937

Mr. B. A. Lloyd  
3427 Baltimore Ave.  
Kansas City, Mo

Dear Mr. Lloyd:

"The Awakener" is dead, but the work is being carried on, and under separate cover you will receive, in return for your stamps, some recent booklets and pamphlets of the Constitutional Educational League.

It is unfortunate that the patriotic elements find it impossible to maintain one patriotic newspaper, when the opposition is able to publish 500 dailies, weeklies and monthlies. However, through the Constitutional Educational League and the patriotic organizations cooperating with it, an energetic campaign is now under way, and eventually we expect to find it possible to revive "The Awakener", perhaps under another name, so that we may be able to present our side of the picture.

I enclose a copy of "STOP LEWIS AND SMASH COMMUNISM" which is a brief resume of our program of action. I invite your interest and cooperation in our endeavors.

Thanking you for your inquiry, I am

Yours for American Ideals,

(signed)

JOSEPH P. KAMP, Vice-Chairman

Executive Editor  
and  
Publishers "The Awakener"

# Constitutional Educational League

Incorporated

NON-POLITICAL

FOUNDED IN 1919

NON-PROFIT

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT  
PROTECTIVE LIFE BLDG.  
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BLDG.  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT  
342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

## Midwest Headquarters

PIONEER BUILDING MADISON, WIS.

OFFICE OF  
JOHN E. WATERS  
MIDWEST SECRETARY

Publishers of  
**HEADLINES**  
AND WHAT'S BEHIND THEM

March 7, 1941.

Mr. M. Sonn,  
722 Waveland Avenue,  
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of March 6th.

Under two separate covers, we are sending you one copy of each of our three Fifth Column booklets. If they fail to reach you in a reasonable length of time, please advise.

Subsequent pages of this letter will give you a brief idea of the work that is being carried on by our organization. I spend most of my time speaking for all kinds of organizations. So far this week I have addressed three groups--a district meeting of Disabled Army Veterans, Lutheran Men's Club, and a Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Next Monday I will address the Kiwanis Club at Quincy, Illinois.

Your name will be put on our mailing list for all future publications. We welcome any assistance that will permit of a wider distribution of our material.

Very truly yours

John E. Waters,  
Midwest Secretary.

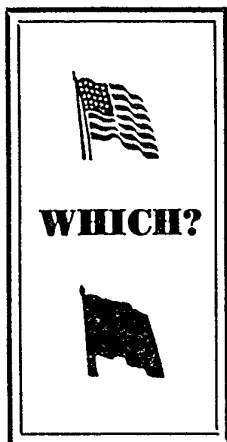
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"Organized to preserve the American System--to defend the Constitution and insure the right to Liberty and Property"



## A BACKGROUND OF SIGNIFICANCE

1919  
~~1939~~



**R**ETURNING from France to find Red agitators in their home towns denouncing the Government for which they had been ready to give their lives, a group of indignant veterans banded together with patriotic citizens to organize an intellectual defense of their country. In this way the Constitutional Educational League came into being, to win instant national recognition.

In the first year Chief Justice William Howard Taft toured the country in its behalf, while General Leonard Wood and Mayor Ole Hansen of Seattle, who quelled the first Communist uprising in America, made nationwide speaking tours under its auspices. At the same time hundreds of League speakers mounted soap boxes in communities where Red campaigns were under way and thousands of volunteers enrolled in the League's "Soap Box University" and were trained, by correspondence, to combat the radicals with facts and argument. In cooperation with State and local officials patriotic groups everywhere were aroused and mobilized.

During the ensuing years, under the direction of such men as Major General C. M. Clement, William B. Healey, National Vice-Commander of the American Legion, and Major William F. Deegan, New York State Legion Commander, the organization made constant progress. With the help of outstanding citizens like General James G. Harbord, Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Admiral Louis Josephthal, Judge Harry Atwood, well known Constitutionalist and author, James M. Beck, former Solicitor General of the United States, and others of equal prominence, the League was able to establish an exceptional record of accomplishment.

When broadcasting was in its infancy the League sponsored, on station WODA, the first Radio Forum ever to be presented over the air, and under its auspices Communist intrigue was first described over station WRNY. It exposed and combatted Communist "boring from within" the United Mine Workers many months before this subversive activity came to the attention of the United States Senate (1924). Its representatives secured evidence which proved the Communist conspiracy to give this country its first "lesson in revolution" at Passaic, New Jersey (1926). It was a relentless foe of William Z. Foster's Red unions and successfully opposed their activities in many industrial cities (1928-35).

In recent years the League was first to expose the Communist campaign to organize "runs" on banks (1931); first to uncover the Red drive to extend its influence among the unemployed by organizing them into Communist controlled unions (1931), and it was first to identify Communists on the public payroll (1933).

## A RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

1937

With the advent of the Communist inspired and controlled CIO, the League again, under the leadership of Judge John L. Gilson, Yale trustee and Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, and Joseph P. Kamp, New York author and editor, assumed the foremost position in the battle to Stop Lewis and SMASH COMMUNISM: During the campaign over 10,000,000 pieces of literature were published; one booklet alone—"Join the CIO—and help build a SOVIET AMERICA"—having had a circulation of over 2,200,000 copies. League literature provided the factual basis for thousands of speeches, editorials and feature articles. Speakers were made available for hundreds of meetings and broadcast their message over radio stations in every section of the country.

In the South the League sponsored two regular radio programs each week for nine months and in New England a weekly broadcast was presented over a six months period. "Constitution College" was established in Birmingham and over 500 ministers, educators and workers were trained to become speakers and leaders. Hon. William F. (Alfalfa Bill) Murray, former Governor of Oklahoma and a leading Constitutional authority, toured the South under the League's auspices, while Congressman Clara E. Hoffman carried the fight directly to the CIO in Alabama, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New England.

★  
**1938**

Despite the "recession", which seriously affected its income the League enlarged its activities during the early months of 1938 until the CIO campaign virtually collapsed in the South and went into a sharp decline in other parts of the country.

At this time the NLRB was being operated as a virtual subsidiary of the CIO, but the matter received little or no publicity. Then a fortunate circumstance enabled the League to dramatize the situation. The Muskin Shoe Company of Baltimore was cited as guilty of an unfair labor practice because one of its employees happened to show another employee one of the League's booklets. The League immediately issued a release on this implied threat to a free press, with the result that within a week over 2,000 newspapers took up the issue, editorially, as their own. A wave of resentment against the NLRB followed.

In July the League established an unusual newspaper—HEADLINES—which provides concise, authentic material to speakers and writers for use in defending the American system of Private Enterprise and exposing the enemies of Constitutional Government.

Beginning in August much League literature was used in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota and other localities where the CIO was a political factor and, although unexpected, favorable election results were achieved.

When, in November, the Red elements threatened to halt the Dies Committee, the League began a nation-wide drive on its behalf; secured over 4,000,000 signatures to petitions and deluged Congress with an avalanche of letters and telegrams from aroused patriots. As part of this campaign, Commander Edward E. Spafford, former national head of the Legion, and Chairman of the League's Award Committee, announced that Congressman Martin Dies had been selected to receive the Americanism Award for 1938. The Dies Committee expressed its appreciation and, at a later date, Congressman Hoffman at a public meeting in New York, openly declared that but for the League's effective work the Dies Committee would not have been continued.

**1939**

Determined to convince Congress that WPA should be investigated the League placed a mass of amazing evidence and information in the hands of each Congressman on Friday, March 24. Three days later an inquiry was voted.

Congressman Woodrum, during the hearings, referred openly to the League's material in framing his questions and the League's presentation was made an official exhibit, while many witnesses who testified were secured through the League's efforts.

In mid-summer steps were taken to put the Red controlled American Youth Congress "on the spot" on the Communist issue, with the result that 23 units withdrew, and, with the League's cooperation, formed the Provisional Committee for American Youth.

After Labor Day the League began to publish HEADLINES Bulletins, exposing countless Reds in important Government positions, which proved so popular that in the first four months over 3,000,000 copies were distributed. Among the more important individuals exposed were Paul Sifton, Deputy Wages and Hours Administrator (he resigned); Henry G. Alsberg, National Director of Writers' Project (he was fired); and Miss Hallie Flanagan, National Director of the Federal Theatre Project (Congress abolished her job).

On December 27 the League's Midwest Secretary demanded the Department of Justice arrest Molly Yard, head of the American Student Union. He charged she was an unregistered foreign agent, and the wife of an NLRB attorney who was a member of a Communist organization. The League offered documentary evidence to back these charges and to prove a conspiracy to control the Government's aviation training program.

Just before the New Year, Hazel Huffman, former Government and Dies investigator, now on the League's staff, exposed a plan to poison the minds of New York school children through a program approved by the Department of Education. A reporter for a leading newspaper verified the truth of the charges.

League speakers addressed thousands of meetings in every part of the country; almost 200,000 communications were answered; and over 6,000,000 pieces of literature were distributed throughout the year.

## **1940 -- A REALISTIC OBJECTIVE**

Our Constitutional Republic must be preserved! Reds on the public payroll must be purged!  
That is the issue! That is our goal!

Although non-partisan and disinterested in politics, the League believes the future of the American system of society and government will be determined in the 1940 election. Voters must decide: "Shall the Marxian forces prevail in our political and economic affairs?" Leftist elements, within the Government, are responsible for many of our current difficulties—they have undermined established institutions—they are paving the way for the destruction of Constitutional government and the establishment of a collectivist society in its place.

In the face of this threat, the American people must be aroused and mobilized. The enemies of America must be exposed! The League will do this job on a broad and comprehensive basis during the crucial and decisive months ahead. The League's officials, committeemen and membership—Democrats, Republicans and Independents alike—are united in their determination that, regardless of political labels, Red influences must be eliminated from the Government structure.

Communism must go!

Americanism must go on!





## A PROGRAM OF ACTION

**1. Literature**—Pamphlets, leaflets and handbills are among the most effective means to reach the masses. Literature already printed and in prospect deals with (a) The American System, (b) The Constitution, (c) The Communist Movement, (d) Socialist Trends in Government, (e) The CIO in Industry and Politics. Our printed matter, published in foreign languages as well as in English, is constantly being supplied for use in class rooms, discussion groups, Americanization meetings, etc.

**2. Speakers**—The League has a corps of trained speakers and in addition utilizes the services of its members who are experienced in platform discussion. It also makes available complete speeches and material for speeches, together with advance and follow-up publicity.

**3. Broadcasting**—League speakers are heard constantly over local radio stations, sectional networks, or high-powered major units of the national chains. A regular program over a national hook-up is the ultimate aim. Electrical transcriptions are available for use over local stations.

**4. Research**—The League's library and files contain the most complete information available anywhere on subversive movements in the United States and their Red leaders. It is constantly called upon to furnish material to special writers, editors, house-organs, etc. This service is rendered without charge.

**5. Investigation**—For many years the League has maintained innumerable contacts with the various radical movements. It has been able to secure important information and secret documents. Its investigators have been of invaluable assistance to law enforcement agencies and public prosecutors.

**6. Leadership Training**—In the various headquarters of the League speakers and leaders have been trained, supplied with factual material and given other assistance to enable them to organize and educate groups of citizens in their respective communities.

**7. Organization**—To expand and extend the influence of the League, organizers are building state and local committees, organizing meetings, distributing literature and arranging contacts necessary to facilitate the proper functioning of all League activities.

**8. Legislation**—The League is constantly working for the enactment of legislation necessary to curb the activities of subversive forces. It keeps informed as to proposed and pending legislation and is constantly cooperating with local and state bodies in supporting bills directed against radicals or opposing bills favorable to or sponsored by them.

**9. Publicity**—In addition to supplying news items to daily papers this department sends a "clip sheet" and picture "mate" to small town and agricultural weeklies. It also prepares feature articles for newspapers and magazines.

**10. HEADLINES**—The League's newspaper with this title was planned as an aide to speakers, writers and students, but it has proven equally popular with the general reader. Its purpose is to uncover subversive inspiration and well-hidden Red propaganda in day-to-day news items. HEADLINES in addition to presenting the Red-News-Behind-the-News will reproduce from time to time original Communist documents which should be disclosed to an unsuspecting public.



## A RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP A CAPABLE and WIDE AWAKE PERSONNEL

**Officers**—Brig. Gen. Luke H. Callan, *Chairman*; Joseph P. Kamp, *Executive Vice Chairman*; W. Byron Swartz, *Vice Chairman*; Hon. Leonard McMahon, *Vice Chairman*; Chester A. Hanson, *Secretary-Treasurer*; Madelyn Cannon, *Assistant Secretary & Assistant Treasurer*; Major A. Cloyd Gill, *Director of Research*; Mildred M. Hall, *Secretary, Southern Department*; John E. Waters, *Midwest Secretary*.

**Executive Committee**—Lt. Col. Anson F. Keeler, *Chairman*; Brig. Gen. Luke H. Callan, Donald J. Farrell, Chester A. Hanson, Joseph P. Kamp, John O. Shields, W. Byron Swartz, George W. Van Etten.

**National Advisory Board**—Hon. John L. Gilson, *Comm.* Nelson Pickering, William B. Healey, Richard W. O'Neill, Carl E. Lothrop, Fred H. MacRobert, Rev. William J. Smith, Major Gen. R. E. Noble, Hon. Bacon Wakeman.

**National Americanism Award Committee**—Comm. Edward E. Spafford, former National Commander American Legion, *Chairman*; Miss Charlotte C. Aycrigg, former President-General, Daughters of the Revolution; Robert Appleton, *Chairman*, American Defense Society, Inc.; Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau, Past President-General, D.A.R.; Brig.-Gen. L. F. Callan; Chester A. Hanson; William B. Healey, former National Vice-Commander, American Legion; Mrs. Edward B. Huling, former *Chairman* of Patriotic Education, D. A. R., New York State; Rev. Dr. James F. Kelley, President, Seton Hall College; Messmore Kendall, President-General, Sons of the American Revolution; Francis H. Kinnicutt, President, Allied Patriotic Societies, Inc.; A. Cressy Morrison, President, R. O. T. C. Association; Major Gen. R. E. Noble, former Surgeon-General, U. S. A.; Richard W. O'Neill, former Chief of Staff, Disabled American Veterans; Joseph P. Ryan, President, International Longshoremen's Association; Major Elmer Studley, former Commander-in-Chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars.

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# RED JUSTICE

BY JOHN E. WATERS

To better understand what the "FIFTH COLUMN" really is, you should read "RED JUSTICE!"

During 1929-30-31, the author, his wife and little daughter lived and traveled in the Soviet Union, where he was employed by the Soviet government to teach American methods of Power-Farming. While there he traveled over much of Russia proper, as well as over a large part of Siberia. He and his family lived right with Russian workers on large government farms ranging from 100,000 to 1,000,000 acres in size.

When you read "RED JUSTICE" you will learn much about the suffering and misery endured by the masses in the so-called "Workers Paradise!" You will learn how Communists betrayed the masses, by making promises which they never intended to fulfill.

If you will read "RED JUSTICE" you will learn about Forced Labor; Religious Persecution; Morals; Liquidation of owners of property; Red Army; Secret Police; Prison camps, Educational system; Health and other subjects.

Tourists who visit the Soviet Union for a few days, or a few weeks are never allowed to see the sordid side of life that Communists do not want the outside world to know about.

"RED JUSTICE" presents 101 pages of facts, of what happens under ruthless dictatorship. When you know the truth, you will fight harder against "FIFTH COLUMN" activities in this country.

Since returning from the Soviet Union, the author has addressed more than ~~200~~ meetings, over a large area of the United States.

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Single copies 50c

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Ten copies or more, 35c each

Order direct from:

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P. O. Box 242

Madison, Wisconsin

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JULY 18, 1942

EX-3

Mr. Curtin Winsor  
Chairman  
Council of Defense  
Broad Street Station  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 39063 LEW JAK

Dear Mr. Winsor:

Your letter of July 6, 1942, and the pamphlet which you enclosed therewith has been received, and I want you to know that I am appreciative of the interest which prompted you to make this material available to the FBI.

You may be assured that the subject matter of your communication has been carefully noted and will be given appropriate consideration and attention by this Bureau.

I hope you will continue to cooperate with us by directing to our attention any material or information which you receive in the future and concerning which you believe we should be advised.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Tolson	
E. A. Tamm	
Clegg	COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
Glavin	MAILED
Ladd	
Nichols	JUL 18 1942
Rosen	
Tracy	P. M.
Carson	FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Coffey	U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
London	
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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

July 25, 1942

100-287

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_

RGH:DW

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

By reference from the Director's Office, I talked yesterday with Mr. Lawrence Heller, President of Radio Station WINX, Washington, D. C. He referred to the article by Walter Winchell in the August 1, 1942 issue of Liberty Magazine entitled "Americans We Can Do Without," which referred to A. Cloyd Gill. Mr. Heller, who has been friendly in the past with the Bureau and has a good reputation, indicated that Gill appeared three times per week over radio station WINX as a commentator in a sustained program. He said that he had always leaned over backwards in trying to render a public service through his station and that if Gill was not thoroughly American he did not want him on the air. He sought advice and guidance from the Bureau as to what he should do.

I explained to him that material contained in our files was confidential and our policy relative to not interfering in any way with employer-employee relationships. He fairly well understood our position and indicated that since Earl Godwin and others had given Gill a clean bill of health he was not going to discharge him. He also indicated that he had brought this matter to the attention of the Attorney General and War Department authorities by letter so that he would be on record in the matter.

Respectfully,

R. C. Hendon

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AUG 5 1942

Federal Bureau of Investigation

United States Department of Justice

Providence, R. I.

August 29, 1942

drm/jo

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Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Re: <sup>0</sup> CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL  
LEAGUE, INC.;  
Internal Security - G

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith a booklet entitled,  
"Native Nazi" which apparently emanates from the Constitutional  
Educational League, Inc. of New Haven, Connecticut.

This booklet was furnished this office by Mr. A. B.  
PEARSON, 500 Angell Street, Providence, Rhode Island, who is an  
official of the Davol Rubber Company, Providence.

From a brief scrutiny of the book it appears that the  
contents are so definitely anti-Communitistic as to be pro-Nazi.

No further action is contemplated by this office  
inasmuch as Mr. PEARSON knows nothing whatever about the origin  
of this literature or why it was forwarded to him.

Very truly yours,

D. R. MORLEY  
Special Agent in Charge

cc New Haven



5 1 SEP 30 1942

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EX-9

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NATIVE NAZI  
Purge Plot

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ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE TO A  
PAYMENT OF POSTAGE, \$300

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Enclosure to the Bureau  
from the Providence PD -

Booklet entitled "Native Nazi".

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ENCLOSURE

Constitutional Educational League, Inc.

New Haven, Connecticut

Sec. 562, P. L. & R.

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**PAID**

New Haven, Conn.

Permit No. 896

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A. B. Pearson,  
500 Angell St.,  
Providence,  
R. I.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

September 3, 1942

RCH:DW

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON

Re: A. Cloyd Gill

As a matter of record Mr. Robert M. Gates of the Department called at my office on September 2, 1942, and left the attached card which Mr. A. Cloyd Gill, a radio commentator with Station WINX, Washington, D. C., had given him some time ago. Gates pointed out that Gill had been mentioned in a recent article by Walter Winchell entitled "Americans We Can Do Without" and that it was his understanding that this individual was engaging in questionable activities. Mr. Gates had no specific information.

Respectfully,

R. C. Hendon

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice

Chicago, Illinois  
September 1, 1942

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 39003 LEW-JAR/K

Re: MAJOR A. CLOYD GILL

Dear Sir

Informant

Under date of June 24, 1942, [redacted] whose permanent residence is [redacted] but who is presently residing in [redacted]

[redacted] gave the following information in reference to Major A. Cloyd Gill, who is listed in the August 1, 1942 issue of the Liberty Magazine in an article written by Walter Winchell, entitled "Americans We Can Do Without".

[redacted] advised that [redacted] Major Gill for a number of years and has never known him to be engaged in any subversive activities. However, [redacted] advised that just prior to the last Presidential election Gill [redacted] Republican Party of [redacted] Democratic Party. He [redacted] as the Republican Party [redacted] the above-mentioned information.

[redacted] advised that Edwin T. Banta, who is well known to the New York Field Division and to the Bureau, has personally been acquainted with Gill for a number of years. [redacted] continued by saying that Banta on numerous occasions [redacted] that Gill was not a very reputable person and that he would bear watching. [redacted] further advised that a [redacted] who was arrested by the New York City Police Department for endeavoring to hold up a radio station on the corner of Broadway and 53rd Streets, approximately one year ago, was a personal friend and associate of Major Gill. He further advised that a Mr. Edward James Smythe, who is presently under indictment on charges of sedition at Washington, D. C., was also a personal friend and associate of Major Gill in New York City.

It is herein pointed out that the informant, [redacted]

[redacted] is well known throughout the country and is regarded as [redacted] United States at present.

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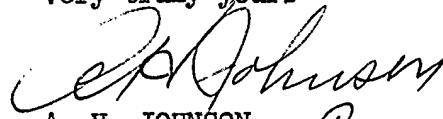
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Director, 9/1/42

Re: MAJOR A. CLOYD GILL

The foregoing is being forwarded for the information of the Bureau and interested Field Divisions.

Very truly yours

  
A. H. JOHNSON  
Special Agent in Charge

AHB:IAJ

cc New York  
Washington Field

D.O. 3

9/2/42

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.

ORIGIN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/23/0

BY 39063/EUN JAR

The Constitutional Educational League was incorporated under the laws of the State of Connecticut in 1937. Its officers at that time were Joseph P. Kamp, Chairman, New York City; W. Byron Swartz, Vice President, Orange, Connecticut; Chester A. Hanson, Treasurer and Agent, Milford, Connecticut; and Madelyn A. Carson, Assistant Treasurer and Secretary, New Haven, Connecticut. (61-10355-164)

AIMS AND PURPOSES

It appears, however, that subject organization was in existence for a number of years prior to 1937, as an unincorporated body with headquarters in the First National Bank Building, New Haven, Connecticut. As such its indicated purpose under the direction of Chester A. Hanson and Joseph P. Kamp was to develop facts concerning the workings of Communist and other alien movements and to disseminate this information through every known means of public expression including newspapers, magazines, speakers and the radio. (National Better Business Bureau, Inc., Chrysler Bldg., N.Y.; 61-10355-167)

At the time of its incorporation in 1937, the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., indicated that its corporate purposes were:

"To bring about a more complete understanding of the functions of our Government and the guarantees and provisions of its instrument, the Constitution of the United States; to inculcate patriotism and love of country; to investigate and expose the subversive elements which are seeking to undermine the faith of the American people in their institutions and to foster this general program through the medium of the spoken word." (61-10355-167)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_ In one of its circulars the League indicated that among its objectives were legislation to remove all Communists from public payrolls and a continuance of the Dies Committee with adequate funds for exposing all forms of subversive activity. (61-10355)

Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
HEADQUARTERS

Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_ The League maintains its headquarters at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, at which its principal volume of business is conducted. In addition thereto, it maintains an office at 831 Chapel Street, New Haven, Connecticut; and a branch office at Madison, Wisconsin, under the direction of John E. Waters, head of the Midwestern district of the League. A southern branch which is now closed, was formerly maintained in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED

61-10355-187

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Efforts to establish offices in other cities of the United States appear to have been unsuccessful. (61-10355-164)

#### OFFICERS

The officers of the League at the time of its incorporation have heretofore been set forth. More recent information indicates that the officers of the League are as follows:

Chairman - Brigadier General Luke H. Callan, recent candidate for Governor of Rhode Island.

Executive Vice Chairman - Joseph P. Kamp, former Vice President, Kamp Construction Company and Editor and Publisher of "The Awakener" of New York City.

Vice Chairman - W. Byron Swartz, Byron Tire and Rubber Company, New Haven, Connecticut.

Vice Chairman - Judge Leonard McMahon, Danbury, Connecticut.

Secretary Southern Department - Mildred H. Hall, Birmingham, Alabama.

Assistant Secretary and Assistant Treasurer - Madelyn Cannon.

Midwest Secretary - John E. Waters, Madison, Wisconsin.

It has been reported that many of the committeemen of the League have been active in veteran circles and have included Major General R. H. Noble, former Surgeon General of the United States Army and Commander Nelson Pickering, a Connecticut manufacturer. [REDACTED]

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Under the actual leadership of Joseph P. Kamp, the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., has been conducting most of its business at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

From the inside cover of the booklet "The Fifth Column in Washington" published in June, 1940, by the League, the following brief history of Kamp appears:

"In 1933 - 1934, Mr. Kamp was Executive Vice President of the Robert J. Wagner Democratic Association in the democratic stronghold of the Nation, Senator Robert J. Wagner's district. In September, 1934, he was named Secretary of the General Committee of the Westchester County New York democratic organization; a designation which, however, he was unable to accept. An editor of newspapers and magazines and for more than twenty

years a student of subversive movements, he writes with authority." (61-10355-164)

Until 1937, Kamp was Executive Editor and Publisher of the now defunct magazine "Awakener" which is described by the publication "The Hour" as having been a Fascist magazine. Associated with Kamp in his publication of the "Awakener" was Harold Lloyd Barney. Barney was connected with the Italian Historical Society of New York and collaborated with Kamp in the publication of the pamphlet entitled "Join The CIO and Help Build A Soviet America."

"The Hour" which is a mimeographed publication reported to be subsidized by the Anti-Defamation League, claims in the issue of August 17, 1940, that Kamp was one of the sponsors of the "pro-America mass meeting" which was addressed by Major John E. Kelley identified as a Fascist of Jersey City, New Jersey, who has spoken before meetings of the German-American Bund and the Christian Front. Kamp is known to have distributed anti-Semitic literature. At one time he concentrated on the distribution of the forged "Benjamin Franklin letter" relative to the Jews. Another anti-Semitic publication which Kamp distributed was "Why Are the Jews Persecuted for Their Religion?" "The Hour" further states that Kamp is known to have cooperated with William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts. He is reported to be an intimate acquaintance of Elizabeth Dilling, the author of the "Red Network." (61-10355-164)

Information which is unverified has been received to the effect that Kamp has an autographed photograph of Adolf Hitler in his office at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

John E. Waters who is the Midwest Chairman of the League at Madison, Wisconsin, published a booklet called "Red Justice." The advertisement of this book states that Waters traveled in the Soviet Union from 1929 to 1931. He is reported to be well educated and to be a prolific "ghost writer" who has made numerous speeches against Communism. There is some indication that Waters may entertain mildly pro-German sentiments and he is regarded as being one hundred percent anti-Communist. (61-10355-164)

#### ACTIVITIES

The activities of the League date back approximately ten years prior to its incorporation. It appears to be a radical anti-Communist organization. Its leaders are belligerent in writing and in speech against Communism. Among the publications issued by this League are:

- "Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" (1937)
- "The Hell of Herrin...Rages Again" (1937)
- "Headlines and What's Behind Them" (1939)
- "The Fifth Column in Washington!" (1940)

"The Fifth Column in the South" (1940)

"The Fifth Column versus the Dies Committee" (1941)

"The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" (1941)

"Why Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting for" (1942)

"Native Nazi Purge Plot" (1942)

"Join the CIO and Help Build a Soviet America" and "The Hell of Herrin... Rages Again" both attack John L. Lewis and the CIO. Lewis is accused of being "communistically inclined" and "a traitor to labor." It is a definite attempt to show that the CIO is a Communist front group.

"The Fifth Column in Washington" was published in June, 1940, and contains a list of employees of the Government who are alleged to be Communists or Communist sympathizers. Among those listed are Robert Lovett, Secretary of the Virgin Islands; Robert H. Jackson, then Attorney General of the United States; Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; and Madame Perkins, Secretary of Labor. This booklet also stated that no criticism can be made of the excellent work done by the FBI but it must be remembered that the Director is a subordinate of the Attorney General and the FBI by itself is helpless.

"The Fifth Column in the South" points out the alleged dangerous growth of Communism in that part of the country and accuses Mrs. Roosevelt of heading the Communist movement by her financial assistance to the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee. It also attacks the spread of the CIO through the South and states that the Communists and the CIO were working together particularly among the southern negroes.

"The Fifth Column versus the Dies Committee" advocates continuance of this committee. It accuses the Department of Justice of alleged attempts to bring the Dies Committee into ill repute.

"The Fifth Column Conspiracy in America" is a map which purports to indicate the various Nazi, Fascist, and Communist spots in the United States.

The pamphlet "Why Win the War and Lose What We're Fighting For," seems to be a follow-up to the pamphlet "The Fifth Column in Washington." It reiterates in substance the complaint of the Dies Committee that "Reds" have infiltrated into leading positions in our government. It concludes with a form letter on the back page urging the President "to purge the government of these un-American elements." It requests that this letter be sent to the President.

"Native Nazi Purge Plot," is primarily concerned with present political developments, and charges that the present administration is attempting to purge both the Senate and the House of Representatives of those

who did not support the administration's foreign policy prior to the war. It criticizes the publication entitled "The Hour" an anti-Nazi news sheet published in New York City; The Union for Democratic Action; The Communist Party; The Council for Democracy; Friends of Democracy, and other organizations, inferring both by direct statement and innuendo that these organizations are Communist dominated. The pamphlet also contains various statements lauding the activities of the Dies Committee.

The letterhead of the League reflects it was founded in 1919 as a non-political and a non-profit organization. In the immediate years prior to its incorporation in 1937 and for a time thereafter it had a group of sponsors. Concerning these original sponsors the Chamber of Commerce, New Haven, Connecticut, reports they appear above question. It is rumored that many of them resigned because the group had strayed from its original purpose.

The League is operated by Joseph P. Kamp at New York City, where the volume of the business is conducted by Chester A. Hanson, Secretary at New Haven, Connecticut; and by John E. Waters, the Midwestern head at Madison, Wisconsin. The New Haven branch appears more active than the Madison office. Kamp appears to be the leader of the League.

Numerous reports have been received that the organization is pro-Axis. To date no information has been developed indicating the League is a subversive organization. On one occasion Gerald B. Winrod, Wichita, Kansas, wrote a form letter endorsing the League's publication "The Fifth Column in Washington."

In a letter to the National Better Business Bureau in 1938, the League claimed it secured 4,000,000 signatures to a petition to continue the Dies Committee. During 1939, the League claimed that it had distributed 6,000,000 pieces of literature.

#### FINANCES

The publications of this organization have a stated price of 25¢ per copy although there is some indication that this literature is distributed gratis.

The organization claims that its receipts for 1934 totaled \$7,000 of which \$5,000 was listed as derived from "memberships." One source in January, 1938, reported the League's assets as \$55,000. Receipts from contributions were listed as \$36,600 and receipts from sale of literature as \$19,100. It claims receipts in 1939 of \$33,750; contributions and memberships are listed as \$29,350; and that in 1940 it received over \$600,000 in contributions.



For detailed information concerning the financial condition, the following financial statement rendered by the League, covering the period of January 1 to December 31, 1939, is of interest:

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand January 1st, 1939	245.40
Contributions and Memberships	29,351.00
Sale of Literature	565.85
Postage (contributed)	750.00
Envelopes " approximately	425.00
Printing "	1,750.00
Paper Stock "	700.00
	<u>\$44,787.25</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Fees for Speakers	676.65
Officers Salaries	8,557.50
Secretarial Salaries (New Haven)	1,164.50
Field Men and Speakers (Sal. & Exp.)	11,587.79
Printing	4,478.60
Express	64.21
Telephone & Telegraph	534.21
New York Office (Rent)	900.00
Office Supplies (New Haven)	72.31
New York Secretary (Salary)	997.15
New Haven Office (Rent)	480.00
Postage	1,267.30
Automobile Expenses	576.60
Miscellaneous (Investigation (Research (Hotels (R.R. etc.)	<u>2,135.97</u>
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	\$33,493.47
Balance-Cash on Hand	<u>293.78</u>
	<u>\$33,787.25</u>

The agency to which the above financial statement was submitted attempted on a subsequent occasion to bring the financial condition of the League up to date and accordingly submitted a regular questionnaire requesting the pertinent material. The League on this occasion did not supply a



financial statement but advised in effect that during the twelve-month period of 1940 over five million pieces of literature were distributed including booklets, pamphlets and "throw-aways." Speakers representing the League appeared before hundreds of gatherings, ranging in size from twenty-five to five thousand persons. The League cited as an example its activities in the State of Wisconsin, where one of its representatives spoke to assemblies of nearly one half the schools and colleges, sometimes making five appearances in one day. As a result mass meetings occurred which were sponsored jointly by the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Chambers of Commerce, Service Clubs, churches and fraternal organizations. The League estimated that in this one single venture it reached between one and two hundred thousand persons.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/16

RE: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.  
JOSEPH P. KAMP, CHAIRMAN

There has recently been received a booklet entitled "Native Nazi Furge Plot," written by Joseph P. Kamp and distributed under the auspices of the Constitutional Educational League, Inc. This booklet has just recently appeared for public distribution and is similar in tenor to prior publications circulated by the Constitutional Educational League, but putting particular stress on criticism of the publication entitled "The Hour," an anti-Nazi newsletter published in New York City; the Union for Democratic Action; the Communist Party; the Council for Democracy; the Friends of Democracy and other organizations.

against it.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_ Photostatic copies of "Native Nazi Purge Plot" are attached for your review and it would be appreciated if you would advise what, if any, action you desire in connection with this publication or the Constitutional Educational League at this time.

Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_

Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECORDED

SEP 3 1942 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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~~28 SEP 1942~~

New York, N. Y.

FLG:DJK  
65-7018

September 18, 1942

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
123-01 39063 LEW JAR NC

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: JOSEPH P. KAMP  
CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE  
INTERNAL SECURITY-G

Dear Sir:

Attached hereto are two copies of report [redacted] dated [redacted]  
[redacted] of Confidential Informant [redacted] which  
contains information concerning JOSEPH P. KAMP.

Copies of the informant's report are being placed in  
the file relating to the subject for information purposes.

Very truly yours,

P. E. FOXWORTH  
Assistant Director

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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Page One

Joseph P. Kamp who heads the Constitutional Educational League, 342 Madison Avenue, N.Y.C. and whose organization was recently mentioned in the indictment of 26 persons for subversive activities has issued a pamphlet denouncing the indictments, called "Native Nazis".

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ELW/PAK/NK

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-191  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
OCT 2 1942  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Good - W.P. Gaffney

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR



**Federal Bureau of Investigation**  
**United States Department of Justice**  
**Washington, D. C.**

EPM:AKR

September 10, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-23-01 BY 39062 LEW JAR NC Jm-rel

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: JOSEPH P. KAMP;  
COLONEL EUGENE SANCTUARY;  
ROBERT E. EDMONDSON

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Beahm \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The following article captioned "COL. SANCTUARY IS AN OLD STORY TO WILKES-BARRE GUILD STRIKERS," appeared in the Guild Reporter for August 1, 1942. The Guild Reporter is the official organ of the American Newspaper Guild. Informant attached significance to this article by marking it in red. The article follows:

"Wilkes-Barre, Pa. --- 'Revenge is sweet' say more than 100 Wilkes-Barre Newspaper Guild members.

They say it as they read dispatches about federal indictment of such un-American, rabble rousers and Army-Navy morale destroyers as Colonel Eugene Sanctuary, along with Robert E. Edmondson, a writer for Sanctuary, and the Reverend Gerald Winrod and others of the 28 indicted.

In the midst of the Guild's six-month strike for trade union recognition and a contract on Wilkes-Barre newspapers almost four years ago, a 'Citizens' Committee' suddenly appeared on the scene, intended to convince the public the Guild strikers were subversively planning to overthrow the government.

Two speakers brought in at great expense by the 'committee' were Sanctuary and Joseph P. Kamp.

The latter has also been mentioned as under federal investigation in recent months. He told his Wilkes-Barre audience:

'You folks can't be expected to know the menace facing you because the Communists shut down your newspapers.'

He Had Visitors

Edmondson spent the summer of 1940 at Stoddartsville, near Wilkes-Barre, carrying on his anti-Semitic pamphleteering and trying to head off Walter Winchell's dynamic blasts against him.

FOR DEFENSE



11 OCT 1942

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"He was visited by some of the Guild's opponents on the 'Citizens' Committee.'

Typical current reaction of Guildsmen is indicated by the comment of Local President Joe Collis.

'Isn't It Funny?---

In the slot on the Record copy desk as he dummied the Sanctuary-Edmondson indictment for page 1, Collis cracked:--

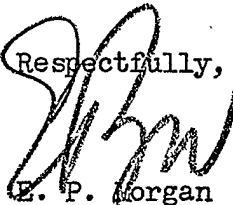
'Isn't it funny how things work out?

'Here's 17 of our Guild strikers of 1938 fighting in the Army and Navy and sure of their jobs when they come back because we have a contract.

'The "Citizens' Committee" crawled into its hole the day the strike ended and now Colonel Sanctuary is headed for the cooler.

'You certainly can't fool the American people!'"

Respectfully,



E. P. Morgan

**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice**

New York, New York

RRG:MG  
100-0

DECLASSIFIED BY 3003/ELN/OK/1K  
ON 1/23/01

August 27, 1942

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Coffey.....
Mr. Egan.....
Mr. Kramer.....
Mr. McGuire.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Nease.....
Miss Gandy.....
Files.....

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

RE: CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.  
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith a pamphlet entitled "Native Nazi" published by the CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC., 342 Madison Avenue, New York City. The Author of this pamphlet is JOSEPH P. KAMP, who has been connected with this organization since 1920.

The pamphlet itself is concerned mainly with criticism of the publication "The Hour", Union for Democratic Action, Communist Party, Council for Democracy, Friends of Democracy, and other organizations. The pamphlet also contains various statements lauding activities of the Dies Committee.

The Bureau's attention is directed to a statement contained on the inside back cover of this publication to the effect that the CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE has furnished information on subversive elements on request to a group of organizations, among whom were listed the Army and Navy Intelligence, the War Department, and the F.B.I.

Confidential Informant [redacted] was advised that a portion of Walter Winchell's production Sunday evening, August 30th, will be devoted to a denunciation of this publication.

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There appears on the inside cover of the enclosed pamphlet a list of other booklets published by the above captioned organization. In the event the Bureau desires copies of these pamphlets by this office they will be obtained and promptly forwarded.

Very truly yours,

P. E. FOXWORTH

Assistant Director



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Enc. 65-3137

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OCT 1 1942

September 12, 1942

RBH:mjl

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-01 BY 3403/EUN/OPK  
MR. LADD

RE: REQUESTS MADE TO CONGRESS TO  
REJECT HATCH ACT REPORT

INFORMATION RECEIVED:

Special Agent R. B. Yadon has advised that Mrs. Yadon, a Congressional Secretary, has informed that Joseph P. Kamp, Vice Chairman of the Constitutional Educational League, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, requested by letter dated September 9, 1942, that the members of Congress disregard the report of Attorney General Biddle concerning investigations conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the terms of Public Law No. 644.

It should be noted that in this letter, Mr. Kamp stated that according to the Attorney General's interpretation of this report, all members of the original list of 1,121 names submitted by the Honorable Martin Dies were good American citizens with the exception of 3, that Mr. Biddle, by implication, put this interpretation into the mouth of the Director and that the investigations conducted by this Bureau did not warrant such a conclusion. He then made the suggestion, "Let Congress ask Mr. Hoover pointblank if he will vouch for the Americanism for each and every individual investigated by the FBI in this connection and who is still on the Government pay roll." A copy of this letter is being attached to this memorandum.

This letter also called attention to a booklet which was also enclosed entitled "That's Cookin'", which made several allegations concerning various employees of the Government. A copy of this booklet is also being attached to this memorandum. Mr. Kamp, in closing his letter, suggested "Congress should order an immediate investigation of Mr. Biddle's investigations".

RECORDED

STATUS OF INVESTIGATIONS OF PERSONS NAMED IN PAMPHLET "WHAT'S COOKIN'"

There are being set forth hereinafter the names of persons mentioned in this pamphlet and the investigations which have been conducted regarding these persons activities.

Original name as located and is not on record. When original is received in files it will be filed either with this copy or may be given a new serial.

10/1/42



1. [redacted] of pamphlet) A summary of available information concerning [redacted] was forwarded to Mr. Ugo Carusi, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General by memorandum dated [redacted] with the notation that no action would be taken in the matter in the absence of a specific request from the Department.

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2. [redacted] of pamphlet) On [redacted] a copy of the report of the investigation conducted concerning this person was forwarded to Mr. Wayne Coy, Liaison Officer for the Office for Emergency Management. On May 15, 1942, Mr. Wayne Coy advised: "You sent to this office an investigative report concerning [redacted] who is the subject of a complaint coming within the purview of Public Law No. 135, 77th Congress. For your information [redacted] is [redacted]"

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3. [redacted] of pamphlet) A copy of the investigative report of the investigation conducted regarding [redacted] was forwarded by letter dated [redacted] to Mr. Wayne Coy, Liaison Officer for the Office for Emergency Management. By letter dated May 5, 1942, Mr. Coy advised that no action would be taken with respect to [redacted] Mr. Coy also called attention to the fact that on [redacted] the United States Civil Service Commission, after a review of all evidence presented to them in previous investigations, concluded that the facts regarding this person were insufficient to warrant his removal from the service.

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4. [redacted] of pamphlet) A summary of available information concerning this person was forwarded by memorandum dated [redacted] to Mr. James Howe, Jr., Assistant to the Attorney General and at that time he was advised that inasmuch as the material regarding [redacted] was of a general nature with nothing to indicate membership in organizations heretofore declared by the Department to be within the scope of Public Law No. 135, 77th Congress, no investigation was being made concerning him.

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5. [redacted] of pamphlet) Reports of the investigation conducted concerning this person were forwarded to Mr. Wayne Coy, Liaison Officer for the Office for Emergency Management by letter dated [redacted] and subsequent information was then received from the Office for Emergency Management that no administrative action was being taken against him.

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6. [redacted] of pamphlet) No investigation has been conducted concerning this person and in view of the general nature of the information contained in the pamphlet no inquiry will be made concerning him.

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7. [redacted] of pamphlet) A review of the card indices of the Federal Employees Unit reveals that an applicant investigation has been conducted concerning this person and that reports of this investigation have been forwarded to the Office for Emergency Management. In view of the general information set forth in this pamphlet, no further inquiry will be conducted concerning his activities.

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ACTION TAKEN:

These data are being brought to your attention in order that you may be fully advised regarding the suggestions being made to members of Congress concerning the current report of the findings of the Federal Bureau of Investigation under the terms of Public Law No. 644, 77th Congress.

Respectfully,

E. W. Tamm

Enclosure

# Constitutional Educational League

Incorporated

NON-POLITICAL

FOUNDED IN 1919

NON-PROFIT

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT  
PROTECTIVE LIFE BLDG.  
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
831 CHAPEL STREET  
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

MIDWEST HEADQUARTERS  
PIONEER BUILDING  
MADISON, WIS.

## New York Headquarters

342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

Publishers of

**HEADLINES**

AND WHAT'S BEHIND THEM

September 9, 1942

Dear Mr. Congressman:-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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At the risk of being indicted for impairing the loyalty and morale of the armed forces, I venture to suggest that the so-called Report by Attorney General Biddle concerning his alleged investigation of "subversives" in Government employment was deliberately intended to undermine the work of a Committee of Congress. Its effect, however, will be to destroy the faith of the American people in what was once a highly respected agency -- the Department of Justice.

This "Report" is a mass of confusing statements; a jumble of fancy and fact -- facts which have been manipulated to cover up what a genuine investigation would disclose. It is a hoax and an off-color "white-wash." It is a despicable fraud and an insult to the intelligence of every member of Congress.

This is no time for cross-word puzzles. Yet the Attorney General confounds the issue with a conglomeration of weasel words and foxy figures palpably devised to hide the truth. He alludes to reports sent to agencies; to hundreds of persons still under investigation; to 389 cases in which no replies from superiors have been received; to a few dismissals and "disciplinary action," and concludes that his agents wasted their time. It is as unintelligible as it is unintelligent. Only one thing is indisputably clear: according to Attorney General Biddle, there were no subversives in the Government -- and "the Dies Committee is to blame for it all."

Mr. Biddle's report states, in effect, that of the 1121 listed, as members of subversive groups, by the Dies Committee, only three are guilty -- all the rest are good Americans, above reproach, who have had no subversive leanings or connections and, therefore, deserve to remain in their Government jobs. Moreover, Mr. Biddle, by implication, put this interpretation into the mouth of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, who is known to have the confidence of the American people. The investigation conducted by Mr. Hoover's F.B.I. warranted no such conclusion. It is, therefore, an injustice to Mr. Hoover and an affront to Congress to attempt to convey such an impression.

Let Congress ask Mr. Hoover point blank if he will vouch for the Americanism of each and every individual investigated by the F.B.I. in this connection, and who is still on the Government payroll.

ENCLOSURE

"Organized to preserve the American System—to defend the Constitution and insure Life, Liberty and Property"



By including a memorandum from an "Inter-Departmental Committee," Mr. Biddle attempts to make it appear that great care was taken by a select group of high officials to see to it that the investigation was properly conducted and appropriate action taken whenever the facts warranted. That the members of this Committee did not do their duty is evidenced by the fact that officials of their respective Departments neglected to reply in connection with reports submitted in 389 individual instances, and, seemingly, were permitted to flout their superiors, the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Congress.

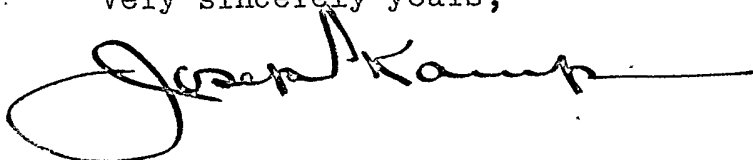
Since you are now privileged to assume from Mr. Biddle's "report" that all "subversives" have been separated from their Government jobs, I would call your attention to the enclosed booklet "WHAT'S COOKIN'?" which contains some interesting information regarding the backgrounds and beliefs of several Federal payrollers who are still at work in the OPA. And since Congress directed the Attorney General to investigate all suspected subversives in the Government it is fair to assume that these individuals were investigated by the Department of Justice and given a clean bill of health. I would leave it to your own good judgment whether or not the OPA officials named deserve to remain on the taxpayers' payroll.

In considering the Attorney General's "report" and his slander of the Dies Committee, I would respectfully suggest that you bear in mind Mr. Biddle's long-time association with some of the elements which he was supposed to investigate. Mr. Biddle once wrote poetry for a Communist magazine which was partially owned by his wife, Katherine Garrison Chapin, and which was edited by Robert Minor, now acting in ex-convict Earl Browder's place as General Secretary of the Communist Party.

You should also know that Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Herbert E. Gaston, who, after Mr. Dempsey's resignation last June, served as Chairman of the "Inter-Departmental Committee" was in charge of propaganda for the ultra-radical Non-Partisan League which worked in concert with the I.W.W. and other radical groups in the early twenties. Mr. Gaston later joined the staff of the "Leader", the official organ of the revolutionary Socialist Party.

In view of all these peculiar circumstances it is obvious that steps should be taken to ascertain the facts -- both Congress and the American people are entitled to know the truth. In the public interest, and in order to insure the continued maintenance of its own prestige, Congress should order an immediate investigation of Mr. Biddle's "investigation."

Very sincerely yours,

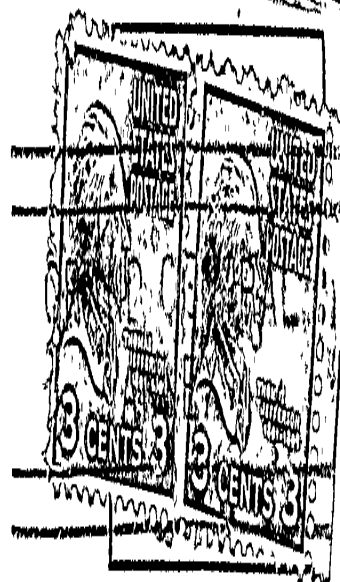


JPKm

Constitutional Educational League, Inc.

342 Madison Ave.,

New York, N. Y.



House Off. Bldg,  
Washington, D. C.

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 3806/ELW/OPK

# What's Cookin'

WHAT IS THE TRUTH  
ABOUT RATIONING  
**SUGAR**  
**RUBBER**  
*and* **GAS**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ELW/KME

**NOT FOR SALE  
TO THE PUBLIC**

ENCLOSURE

61-10355-184

"One good man with his eyes, ears and wits about him, inside the Department—whether it be the Interior . . . or the Treasury—can do more to perfect the technique of control over industry than a hundred men outside."

—H. S. Raushenbush, Chief, Bureau of Planning and Research, Division of Power, U. S. Department of Interior, (at \$8,000 a year); Acting Director War Resources Council.

*"Discussion of matters affecting our existence and that of the nation must cease altogether. Anyone who dares to question the rightness of the National Socialist world outlook will be branded as a traitor . . . Anyone may criticize the Government who is not afraid to go to a concentration camp."*

—Dr. Joseph Goebbels.

**"NOT FOR SALE TO THE PUBLIC"**

was printed across the face of the book from which many of the quotations herein are taken. Written by Robert A. Brady, Chief Consultant, OPA, and published by Victor Gollantz, Ltd., leading printer of Communist literature in England, the book was distributed by the Left Book Club, promoted by the British Communist Party.

# WHAT'S COOKIN'?

by

CARTER O'CONNOR

*"The American People will gladly submit to rationing of anything and everything if it will help to win the war. No sacrifice is too great. But, there must be no doubts as to the motive or need and the program must be carried on under the direction of officials in whom the People can have confidence."*

—JOHN BROSS LLOYD

The Witch Doctors of Washington stir their broth.

A pinch of sugar; a dash of gas; a rubber tire.

Within reach and ready to be added are a pair of shoes, an overcoat and a soft felt hat.

The pot boils. Chunks of "new world order" swirl to the top. The Voodoo men grin and chant their Black Magic.

The chant is a hysterical jingle of pseudo-scientific terms, metaphysical affirmations and degenerate aphorisms. It opens with Vice-President Henry Wallace's wailing lamentation for the milk-less plight of the Chinese coolie and winds up with Harold Loeb's drooling lecherous paen to state-controlled indiscriminate mating of the American woman. For the most part it is unintelligible to the voter-layman. But the litany of post-war "promises," unmistakable above the cunningly devised double-talk, is clearly heard and understood.

Sugar cards, gas cards, synthetic rubber formulae are tossed upon the coals. The pot quickens. Slimy bubbles break and hiss. A sickening odor fills the air.

What's Cookin'?

130,000,000 Americans ask the question. It is not only their right to ask it—it is their duty.



But the question affronts the Witch Doctors. It is impertinent. It is embarrassing. It is tantamount to "treason." Besides, the 130,000,000 Americans have already been told by Harry Hopkins they are "too damned dumb to understand."

What's cookin'? the Witch Doctors repeat. Why, the War Effort, of course. Take the question of sugar . . .

130,000,000 "moronic" Americans do and discover:

"There is little likelihood of 'days without sugar' during this war."

—Vice-President Wallace.

*"There just won't be enough sugar."*

—Secretary of Agriculture Wickard.

"There is no reason why there should be any rationing here."

—R. M. Evans, Dept. of Agriculture.

*"Rationing plans for sugar being drawn up."*

—OPA Administrator Henderson.

"This country is literally lousy with sugar."

—Rep. Jesse P. Wollcott.

## SUGAR RATIONED

"Sugar bulges storage bins but rationing stays."

—N. Y. Mirror.

"The situation now confronting the rationing advocates is one of face-saving. They plan to relax rationing quotas in August, but are afraid to do it now because of fear of destroying rationing control."

—Chicago Sun.

130,000,000 befuddled Americans just can't understand it all.

Well, the Witch Doctors concede, maybe the "morons" do have something there. However, in time of war the too enquiring mind is "unpatriotic." Instead of sugar, take the question of gasoline rationing . . .

130,000,000 "unpatriotic" Americans do and find:

*"Gas shortage is a 'dispute between two great industries.'"*

—OPA Administrator Henderson.

*"Easy to get gas."*

—PM.

*"U. S. may face gasoline rationing."*

—N. Y. Post.

*"Five gallons a week limit."*

—OPA.

*"Fifty gallons a month."*

—Secretary Ickes.

## TWO GALLONS RATIONING SET.

*"They are getting a damned sight more than they are entitled to."*

—OPA Administrator Henderson.

*"No actual scarcity of gasoline."*

—N. Y. Times.

*"Tighter curb on gas likely."*

—Secretary Ickes.

*"2,000,000 barrels of gasoline destroyed in Chicago."*

—Detroit Free-Press.

"Gas rationing to save rubber."  
—N. Y. Journal-American.

*"Gasoline rationing is a deliberate and planned freeze out of the small business man."*

—Eastern States Gasoline Dealers Assn.

"Rationing of gasoline is not necessary."

—Rep. Clarence F. Lea.

"We believe gasoline rationing as a means of conserving rubber is now unwarranted."

—Special Committee of Congress after conferring with President Roosevelt.

Such unconvincing contradictions are embarrassing even to the Witch Doctors. But, then, in time of war too much logic is "treasonable." Instead of gasoline consider the vital question of rubber . . .

130,000,000 "traitorous" Americans do and learn that:

"Truman finds U. S. A. faces rubber famine."

—PM.

*"No need to get very excited about rubber."*

—President Roosevelt.

"No hope of rubber for civilian cars for several years."

—Transportation Director Eastman.

"Retreading a million tires a month possible by end of '42."

—Dow Chemical Co.

*"No synthetic rubber available for civilian use this year or next."*

—WPB Director Nelson.

"Army faces rubber shortage."

—Asst. Secy. of War Patterson.

"Can fill rubber need in year."

—Rubber Expert Dr. Wm. J. Hale.

"WPB encourages hope for family car."

—Chicago Tribune.

"Government requisitioning of privately owned automobiles pretty sure after election."

—N. Y. News.

"Houdry claims million tons (200,000 tons more than needed) of synthetic rubber can be produced in nine months with saving of steel for 3,000 tanks."

—N. Y. Sun.

RUBBER SHORTAGE A MYTH,  
INDUSTRY TELLS NATION.

—N. Y. News.

Plenty of Rubber? Nonsense! Industry punctures rumor.

—N. Y. Post.

*"Everybody all around finally have admitted that even now it is possible and practical to produce whatever rubber is necessary to keep the nation on wheels—and if it goes off wheels, the fault lies solely with the officials in charge of the program, for incompetence in failing to take the necessary steps."*

—Commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr.

"This country within eighteen months will be producing more rubber synthetically than she used to import from the Far East. All this will be done on the basis of a

contract which provides that when the war comes to an end the government will have the right to acquire the plants. Personally, after the war I hope a few small synthetic rubber plants will be left running . . . I trust, however, that the vast bulk of our rubber would come from . . . Latin America and the Far East."

—Vice-President Wallace.

"The reason for failure to allow unhampered American genius to meet the critical military and civilian demand for rubber is to be found in the Administration's interest in its blue-print of how world trade ought to operate."

—Rep. Robert A. Grant.

By this time the 130,000,000 "imbecilic," "unpatriotic" and "traitorous" citizens of the U. S. are no longer so much interested in *what's* cookin' as *why*. The nauseating stench from the Voodoo brew is suddenly more ominous than offensive. After the fires of war under the kettle have cooled—what?

One of the prime characteristics of the American is his stubborn insistence upon examining motives. Are the Witch Doctors of Washington sincere in the asserted belief their weird alchemy will win the war—or are they subtly and consciously brewing a post-war poison?

The 130,000,000 peer through the eerie, flame-rent darkness at the faces of the Great Shamans hovering over the cauldron. They recognize Harry Hopkins,\* Vice-President Wal-

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\*The Harry Hopkins-Louise Macy wedding cake was circular, two feet in diameter and featured all the signs of the Zodiac. The top decoration was a bas relief of Leo—Hopkins' Zodiac figure—and Sagitarius, which is Mrs. Hopkins' astrological sign.

lace,\* Harold Ickes, and Leon Henderson. Behind each Great Shaman stands his assistant Medicine-men, his personal Weavers of Spells, his private group of Little People making Ju-Ju. Upon the forehead of each Great Shaman is the emblem of a particular jungle cult: the signs of the zodiac, the crystal ball, the tea-leaf; the Tower of Babel, the Great Pyramid of Gizeh.

But neither the conjured darkness nor the cleverly needled tattoos can conceal the red outlines of the Hammer and Sickle burned into the flesh of each of them. Their fetishes are varied and many—but their Faith is one.

Having been deprived of sugar, gasoline and rubber, and threatened with the rationing of shoes, clothing and up to 400 other commodities—all without acceptable factual evidence that such bureaucratic action is necessary for the War Effort—the alarmed 130,000,000 single out one Great Shaman for contemplation. It is Leon Henderson, Administrator of the Office of Price Administration.

Who is this Ju-Ju expert who holds such power and wields such influence within the mystic circle of official Washington? Who are his Assistant-Medicinemen? Who are his Weavers of Spells? Who are the Little People beating tom-tom for him?

Leon Henderson is a cautious, clever and cunning radical. He has been careful in his public associations—careful not to stick his neck out too far, but every once in a while his enthusiasm got the better of his judgment. There was the time when, while an economic instructor at Carnegie Institute, he took his entire class of

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\*Mr. Wallace is an ideological confusionist . . . his beliefs are a hodge-podge of Marxism, Fascism, Feudalism and Buddhism. He is positive on one point . . . he wants to make America over . . . into a hybrid Shangri-La. In one of his books he pays homage to the earnestness of "such men as Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler." In private writings in connection with a curious semi-religious cult which captivated his interest he displayed an urge to emulate the Lama of Tibet and referred reverently to President Roosevelt as "The Flaming One."

students to a Red meeting to hear America's most violent revolutionary, Eugene Victor Debs. A little later he was incautious enough to become one of the high-priests of the Technocracy cult. Although he answered a recent critic with the statement that he resigned from the Committee on Technocracy in 1933, with the inference he had recognized the error of his ways, he has still to explain away a subsequent statement expressing his determination to carry on "under a new organization and a new name."

While he refrained from being a conspicuous participant in the public affairs of notorious Communist fronts, with the possible exception of accepting the presidency of the Washington Friends of Spanish Democracy, he managed to show his colors to the "comrades." Once, for example, he entertained the Red delegates to a Washington conference of the Communist American League for Peace and Democracy at a Pink tea at his home. This social soiree of the un-American underworld would have passed unnoticed but for the fact that Henderson tore the clothes off a reporter-photographer and threw him out bodily.

Perhaps the only time he brazenly flaunted his Communist sympathies was when, during the Hitler-Stalin honeymoon while the Soviet Ambassador was in the "dog house," so to speak, and official Washington was giving him the "cold shoulder," Henderson was one of three officials who braved raised eyebrows and icy stares to attend a reception at the Red Embassy and munch caviar and sturgeon and sip champagne under the massive oils of Lenin and Stalin.

Standing immediately back of Henderson is his First Assistant Medicine man, Robert A. Brady, known officially as Chief Consultant of the Office of Price Administration and Civilian Supply, and appointed at a salary of \$7,500 a year.

Brady, an internationally known "fellow-traveler" in an almost inexhaustible list of Communist front organizations, is the author of and editor of Communist literature; a sponsor of the Communist Workers' School; Chairman of the Communist front Consumers' Union; sponsor of the Communist spawned Motion Picture Artists' Committee; a signer of the 1939 Communist Manifesto vowing fealty to the Soviet regime, and a member of the Harry Bridges Defense Committee—the same Harry Bridges recently found guilty by Attorney General Biddle of membership in a foreign-controlled conspiracy to overthrow the American government by force and violence.

Brady is author of the book "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism"—an attack upon Nazism only from the standpoint of Communism and at no time in defense of American democracy. In fact the book contains an attack upon American democracy—in which he openly endorses the "extermination" of the banker and industrialist, the High Command of the armed forces, and the hierarchy of the Church.

"On this ultimate, and apparently inevitable level the struggle is sanguinary, and all hope of further compromise gone. As all parties realize, the end result will be either the triumph of reaction and a new lease on life for Capitalism or else a victory for Socialism and the extermination of the rich and powerful of bank, factory, bivouac and cloister." (page 324.)

Is Robert A. Brady using his present important government post sincerely to further the War Effort, or is he using it to help make possible that "extermination" he endorses?



Further examination of Brady's published work discloses an indisputable consecration to the overthrow of the American way of life; a sly dedication to the "liquidation" of the Church; a contemptible, sinister and treasonable preoccupation with undermining American patriotism and destroying the confidence of the American people in the Army, Navy and other armed forces of the United States:

"For better or worse, the deeper issue now being squarely faced is whether capitalism should be allowed any longer to survive." (page 324.) . . . "There is nothing left . . . except idleness, privation, and the charity dole. Nothing else except revolt." (page 327.)

"The growing trend in the Catholic and Protestant Confessions along this line; programmes of the various Churches, American Legion and other bodies for the youth (Boy Scouts?) and women," (D.A.R.?) are listed as "Examples" of "the Looming Shadow of Fascism." (page 347.)

"In the army the weapons of warfare are force, secrecy, repression, and the judicious employment of the manikins of deceit behind a dress parade of cleverly simulated virtues." (page 82.) . . . "The military is the only other completely undemocratic, completely autocratic, and completely intolerant — completely 'leader', 'authoritarian', and 'totalitarian' . . . organization in modern society." (page 336.)

This is the credo of Robert A. Brady—his nihilistic attitude on the American concept of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness—his contemptuous estimate of Gen. MacArthur and his men in the fox-holes of Bataan and in

the 'swamps of the Solomons—his shameless salute to 3000 youths of the United States Navy who sleep eternally on a hillside overlooking Pearl Harbor.

But does it not also indicate what Robert A. Brady is actually fighting for?" Does it not also expose his real and only "war effort?"

Behind Brady flickers of light from the fires under the Voodoo kettle pick out Tom Tippet, Henderson's Second Assistant Medicine-man, as he makes "conjure" above a volume of his own Communist "When Southern Labor Stirs" and a copy of the Communist Trade Union Conference Manifesto signed by him in concert with William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, and Earl Browder, ex-convict and erstwhile General Secretary of the Communist Party in this country.

Tippet, a one-time instructor at *Communist Brookwood Labor College* and a former member of the National Youth Administration, is known officially as Assistant Chief of the Rent Section of OPA, appointed by Henderson at \$5,600.

An excerpt from Tippet's own "When Southern Labor Stirs" discloses such exhortation to war-time "unity" as:

"To marshal the forces of labor to act in its own interest is a task that is not accomplished in a day or a year. Meanwhile privately owned factories are the workers' source of bread and will be *until a successful revolution is here.*"

A single quotation from the Trade Union Conference Manifesto is sufficient to explain the

at-long-last apprehension of the 130,000,000 Americans "too damned dumb to understand;"

"We call upon the workers and farmer to arouse themselves, to refuse to be duped by rosy dreams, to organize . . . in shops, mines, stores and offices, strengthen the existing class unions and to build fighting industrial unions to carry on the class struggle of the workers against the bosses and the boss-controlled government agencies."

Beneath these two magic war-time "unifying" documents is a third—the Principles of the ultra-Red Conference for Progressive Labor Action, with which Tippett was identified as a member of the National Executive Committee together with Louis Francis Budenz, present editor of "The Daily Worker," American mouth-piece for Moscow.

The purpose of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was stated as:

"It seeks to stimulate in the existing and potential labor organizations a progressive, realistic, militant labor spirit and activity. It aims to inspire the workers to take control of industry and government, to abolish the present capitalist system and build a workers' republic, and an economic system operated for the benefit of the masses and not of the few."

Does Tom Tippett blow his "patriotic" breath upon the coals beneath the Voodoo kettle with the hope of defeating Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito, or with the expectation of bringing about that "successful revolution?" To which, actually, does he dedicate his share of "blood, toil, sweat and tears?"

Crouched back of Tippet is the mystically shrouded figure of Dewey H. Palmer, Third Assistant Medicine-man in O.P.A. Palmer is officially listed as Assistant Consultant to Henderson at \$20 a day.

Concerning Dewey H. Palmer, Martin Dies, Democratic Representative from Texas and head of the Dies Committee on un-American Activities, wrote in a letter to President Roosevelt on September 6, 1941:

"I come next to the name of Dewey H. Palmer who is listed as a consultant of O.P.A.C.S. at \$20 a day. I enclose a reproduction of a memorandum in the handwriting of Mr. Palmer. In this document, Palmer made no secret of his 'C.P. sympathies' meaning of course his Communist Party sympathies. I enclose another document which is a typewritten memorandum bearing the signed initials 'D. H. P.' This memorandum was written by Dewey H. Palmer. It established beyond any question its author's views with respect to Communism and the Soviet Union. Finally, in connection with Mr. Palmer's Communist record, I inclose a reproduction of a letter addressed to him by one Sadie Frankel. The letter is on the stationery of "The Daily Worker" Medical Advisory Board. Miss Frankel's salutation was the usual one between members of the Communist party."

Is Palmer's "Hi, Comrade!" a salutation to Capt. Colin Kelly, Lieut. Comdr. John O'Hare, Lieut. Comdr. John Bulkley, and Gen. Jimmy Doolittle—or is it a "yours in Marx" greeting to the spiritual brotherhood of the Kremlin?

And Pa... would not have to confine himself to "spiritual" kinsmen of the Kremlin either. He could use the salutation quite properly in addressing a one-time particular pet and direct employee of the Kremlin right in the office of OPA. For Henderson's Fourth Assistant Medicine-man and Director of the rent division at \$6,500 is Karl Borders, a Red agitator well known to the Chicago police.

Borders was formerly Chairman of the Executive Board of the Chicago Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union which, according to the New York State Legislature's Lusk Report, "is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the state;" while Congressional investigators found it to be "closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90% of its efforts are on behalf of Communists." A recent Legislative inquiry in Massachusetts reported: "The propaganda of this organization is dictated and dominated by Communists and Communist supporters."

Medicine-man Borders was also Western Director of the League for Industrial Democracy originally named "Intercollegiate Socialist Society" whose slogan is "production for use and not for profit." For five years he was a social worker in Chicago's Russian district. On a trip to Russia his work won such high recognition from the Soviet Government that he was appointed as the Educational Director of the North Caucasus District, where he served the Russian Communists for two years.

Is Borders interested in winning the "War for Survival" or the "class war" for Communism?

Back in 1933, along with Henderson's Fifth Assistant Medicine Man John Edelman, Borders was among the leaders of the "Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers for Economic Reconstruction," which called "upon the com-

mon people . . . to war on war . . . by refusing military service, by combating preparation for war . . . to oppose the Citizens Military Training Camps, the Reserve Officers Training Corps . . . to boycott and obstruct these (armament) industries in peace and war."

Almost ten years ago this "congress" proposed that "all income above \$25,000 a year shall be recaptured by the government . . . the government to take over all of the banks and . . . use the people's credit to control and socialize industry . . . so that production will be carried on, under the control of the workers, for use instead of for private profit."

The "congress" called for a "disciplined organization, a coherent program, and the marshaling of our forces for a farmer and workers' commonwealth . . . to join with similar groups abroad in demanding a new world order . . . a world of comfort, happiness, and freedom for all, which freedom must include the right of mothers to limit the size of their families."

Edelman, who is now Henderson's liaison between the O.P.A. and the C.I.O., was assistant secretary of the "congress." He was also a Pennsylvania Committee member of the American Civil Liberties Union and on the Board of Directors of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, which were partially financed with Federal funds, and which the New York Federal Grand Jury Association found was teaching: "*How to foment a strike; How to take over the industries of the United States, especially the munitions plants; How to bring about the general strike, and then seize and operate the plants; How to overthrow the United States Government and establish a Soviet Union.*"

However, Brady, Tippet, Palmer, Borders, and Edelman are merely Assistant Medicine-men and consultant Hokus-pokusers. Their specific

duty is to gather twigs from the Tree of Life, pebbles from the Stream of Consciousness and Feathers from the tail of the American Eagle to be fashioned by Leon Henderson into New World Order fetishes. None of them is the One Voice, the Giver of Magic, the First Cause whom the Great Shaman seeks out in humility and trembling.

That All Seeing, All Knowing Deity is  
Harold Loeb.

Few of the 130,000,000 Americans know his name. Fewer recognize him, as aloof and withdrawn, he broods in the deeper shadows of the Washington jungle. Fewer still, and these only among the "obstructionist" explorers of the dark swamps of the Capital, have come upon his Signs, read his Portents, or listened to his intonation of the Canon of the Future—

A future in which all personal liberty, all industrial progress, all institutions of a decent civilization are to be sacrificed to "world freedom;" a future in which man is to become a "human unit" of work owned by the State; a future in which woman is to become the common broodmare of the community in which she lives; a future in which children are to be "contracted" for "society" at the instant of birth; a future in which marriage, the home, school and church are to be expunged, and a future in which sexual perversions are to be encouraged in order to keep the birth-rate down to a "scientific" level.

Harold Loeb is Henderson's Senior Business Specialist at \$4,600 a year.

Socialist, Communist Fellow Traveler, Technocrat, Loeb is all things to all isms. He is the Infinite Spirit, the Giver of Life, the Oracle of The New World Order—not only to Leon

Henderson and the O.P.A. but to the other zealots and cults planning to perpetuate civilization by destroying it.

Loeb's "war effort" and his Protocols for the "peace" are clearly presented in a series of books written by him. The most revealing of these is probably "Life in a Technocracy."\* In this work, now circulating in every free library in the United States, the 130,000,000 Americans, whether working in plane, tank and gun factory, or engaged in other activities dedicated to victory for the United Nations, are moved to greater "unity" and "sacrifice" by such observations as:

"The spur to wage labor is still force. Most workers at a fixed wage are forced to labor in order to obtain sustenance just as was the slave." (page 5.)

"Preachers and other teachers, . . . preach war and peace, friendship and enmity, right and wrong, regardless of Christianity or wisdom, but regardless of the interests of the money magnates and of the code which made and preserves them." (page 28.)

"If capitalism is worth preserving . . . war against Russia is the logical measure." (page 24.)

A further and perhaps greater incentive to unity and sacrifice is contained in Loeb's "Production for Use", in which the 130,000,000 Americans are told:

"Poor America! Its inhabitants have never had enough to eat. The supplies of

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\*Technocracy," according to its "inventor" Howard Scott, was organized to "abolish the price system." He also said that bayonets would line up those who refused to join the movement. During his early efforts Scott was assisted financially by Leon Henderson.



"milk, butter, beef, mutton, fruit, eggs and green vegetables have been insufficient even in its most prosperous years."\* (page 1.)

- And Leon Henderson, Loeb's "employer," tells the American public it must expect to "tighten its belt" before the year is out!

"Two-thirds of the 30 million American families live in shacks and slums" . . . Every American, Loeb says, should have a room-and-a-half for himself. (page 19-20.)

And American munitions workers are living two, three and four in a single room!

"Additional goods and services produced in war-time, are food and clothing for our Allies instead of the necessary food and clothing for our home population; cannon and fortifications instead of houses; trucks and tanks instead of pleasure cars; poison gas drills instead of education; field surgery instead of home care; and the inculcation of murder lust instead of the fostering of enriching forms of recreation." (page 101-102.)

- And President Roosevelt entreats the people of the United States to forego their own needs and comforts and to produce more and more arms, planes, tanks, food, clothing, and medicine for the people of those nations who are fighting democracy's battle on every continent of the earth!

The 130,000,000 Americans answer that entreaty. They are resolved to tighten their belts if need be; to sleep six, seven or eight in a single room if necessary; to bend their backs and break their hearts and fight like hell to keep the United States a decent place to live in.

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\*Worcester, Mass., Nov. 15 (A.P.)—Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau suggested today a vast post-war program whereby every man, woman and child the world over would be guaranteed enough food to be healthy.

"If our people and other peoples are to be guaranteed a minimum standard of nutrition, which I believe is their right, then we in this country will have to produce the food that will make that standard possible."

Mr. Morgenthau said the National Nutrition Conference recently set the minimum standard for adults at one egg, one serving of meat and two servings of fruit and vegetables every day and four and one-half quarts of milk a week.

But is that the kind of place Harold Loeb plans after the Peace?

The 130,000,000 Americans look back through the pages of "Life in a Technocracy" and read the answer in Loeb's definition of the Ideal American State:

All activity will center about 92 basic industrial monopolies served by 20,000 communities scattered from coast to coast. Every individual will arbitrarily "sign" a social contract at the instant of birth. His education, if any, and his vocation will be determined by a Board. He will work where and for as long each day as he is told to work. In exchange for his labor he will receive a Certificate of Energy, a device identical with the Soviet Bread Card. Should he become "difficult," his certificate will be taken from him until such time as he is willing to "get into line" again.

A small body of Industrial Coordinators will be selected by the "party" to wield the main power of the state. The Chairman of this Board will be the highest official in the land and will have fiat powers equal to those of Hitler and Stalin.

"Political government may be retained. Its function would be showmanship. The routine of its executives would be made up of receiving distinguished guests, laying corner stones, making speeches about the rights of man, American initiative, justice . . . Prominent clowns will, doubtless, be frequently elected . . . How much more dignified would our

chief executive have been if he had spent four hours a day steering the scoop of a steam shovel! And how much more useful!"  
(page 102-103.)

The conception of society based on the family unit will be declared to have "out-lived its usefulness." Adultery, listed as nothing more than a "property crime," will not exist on the statute books. Each woman will become a brood-mare in the community in which she lives.

"To make sexual selection appreciably effective women will have to bear more children to that type of man approved by their social group than to other men." (page 176.)

Morals will be left to the discretion of each community.

"The sexual relations, also, might be investigated scientifically. The laws and customs which govern them, especially the taboos, originally imposed by the Christian and Calvinist dogma, seem both to exaggerate their importance and degrade their repute." (page 171.)

The major problem of the State will be control of population. Since production will be "for use and not for profit," the birth rate must be carefully regulated; more babies than bassinets provided for in each annual budget will not be tolerated. Following decimating periods such as wars, floods, earthquakes, etc., "normal" reproduction will be encouraged. At other times, however, particularly when population reaches the "saturation" point, sexual perversions will be looked upon as a "scientific" method of control.

"Sexual aberrations would . . . be condemned only when they injured society . . . During the ages when tribal or national survival depended partly on a high birth rate, sexual perversion was often considered vicious. A technocracy on the other hand would be more worried about a high birth rate than by a low one." (page 145.)

Loeb's procedure for "imposing" the New World Order State as outlined by him, is as follows:

1. A select group of people will organize themselves for the purpose of preparing for the necessary coming crisis — the PRESENT WAR — and, by their awareness of the "goal," prevent false starts.

2. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act will be repealed. With the anti-trust act out of the way, the first step of "imposition" can be accomplished: the merging of basic industry into 92 Master Corporations.

3. Limitation of production through the formation of monopolies will be achieved by a series of successive economic crises.

4. The profits of the monopolies will be limited. This can be done by government control such as is now in force in relation to railroads, public utilities, etc.

5. Capital will be shorn of its "underwriting function" through destruction of the concept of money — the notion that gold and paper and metal certificates are "wealth."

6. During the provisional, transitional period of changing the United States over from a Republic to the New World Order State, all prices will be controlled by State Boards as is now done with railroad and certain public utilities rates.

No wonder the Witch Doctors grin as they stir their broth and chant their black magic.

Everything is set. All that is necessary now is to sell the American people on the "right" kind of a Peace. Five of Loeb's six measures requisite to the "imposition" of the Hopkins-Wallace-Ickes-Henderson Utopia are already in effect due to the exigencies of the war—and Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, in suggesting "some kind of single, universal currency," is planting the seed for the sixth measure, the "destruction of the concept of money—the notion that gold and paper and metal certificates are 'wealth.' "

The 130,000,000 Americans check the present Washington set-up with Harold Loeb's plan and find:

1. The "select group"—the Technocrats, the Socialists, the Communists, the Fellow Travelers—the whole Left wing of the New Deal—is already organized and in strategic positions of power and influence in Government Departments and Agencies, and War Boards and Bureaus.

2. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act is actually in suspension for the duration. The production of huge industries is being standardized and consolidated—patents are being pooled — the huge “monopolies” have already been established — and by the Government itself. The “combines” envisioned by Mr. Loeb are now essential to the defeat of the Axis. The merging of basic industry into 92 Master Corporations is indicated in the following press release from Washington:

FRIDAY, JULY 24,

## Industry Faces Streamlining to Aid War Effort

By PHILLIPS J. PECK,

International News Service Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, July 24.—

American industry faces a new and revolutionary development today as the nation's war planners prepared to further streamline the civilian economy.

Seeking to put all industrial energy into the war effort, the War Production Board approved the principle of “concentration of industry.”

Under such a policy of “selective limitations” essential civilian production will be concentrated.

“Nucleus plants” in an industry will be allowed to continue production at or near capacity. The remainder of the industry will be “closed down” or converted to the production of war materials.

3. The “series of successive economic crisis” have already been achieved. Devious economic maladjustments of Administra-

tive "reforms" during the past few years resulted in the near destruction of both big and little business and brought about Loeb's proposed limitation of civilian production.

4. Profits of these "monopolies" are now limited to a minimum both by statute and necessary staggering war-time taxation.

5. Capital has already been shorn of its "underwriting function" as evidenced by the financing of new war industries through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other Government agencies. Leading "capitalists" are now in token charge—and token charge *only*—of these industries and are helpless against being "relieved" by a Loeb "Board" either during the war or after its termination: a "national emergency" can be declared to exist even to the extent of Loeb's suggested six Five Year Plans.

6. Due to the inescapable requirements of the war effort, prices are already being controlled by Leon Henderson's Office of Price Administration. From the standpoint of price control all is in readiness for the "transition."

Is this Harold Loeb's personal "war effort?" Is it dedicated to the liberation of Norway, the Low Countries, France, Czechoslovakia, Greece and Poland or to the "imposition" upon this country of the New World Order in which the male "human unit" shall be chained to a lathe, the female "human unit" tossed to the lust of her state-controlled community, and the children trained in the "science" of sexual perversion?

Instead of an answer, there comes from the jungle fastness the demoniacal curse of the 50-some Communist "fellow-travelers"\* among the Little People on Henderson's pay-roll:

"Isolationist! *Obstructionist!* Fascist!"

The cry is taken up by the other Little People outside the Jungle—

The Little People who are little only in spirit, courage and faith and who need and are comforted by the drooling "sympathy" of the New World Planners—

The Little People making up the case histories of the professional WPAer, the neurotic political self-flagellist, the biological social weakling—

The Little People who have never been and can never be a spiritual part of the real American people.

But the question concerning the motive back of the "war effort" of Loeb, Palmer, Tippet, Borders and Brady—even of Leon Henderson himself—is not put to them alone nor only to the Office of Price Administration. It is put to the other 4112 Communists, and Communist Fellow-travelers in numerous other Administrative bureaus and listed by the Dies Committee

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\*In Washington the spearhead of the Red patronage machine in OPA is Thomas I. Emerson, a leader in the International Juridical Association, a world-wide Communist defense organization. In New York Regional Director Walter Gelhorn, a member of the staff of the International Labor Defense, legal arm of the American Communist Party, had his personnel selected by Paul Kern, a notorious Communist fellow-traveler, who had no connection with O.P.A., but occupied a Government office and acted illegally in an official capacity.

and other agencies as active or potential enemies zealously and cunningly using the tragic circumstances of war to overthrow our Constitutional form of government.

Why is Leon Henderson, with his record of Leftist sympathies and technocratic leadership, maintained as head of so politically strategic a post as the Office of Price Administration? Is he truly the "indispensable man?" Is there no other single qualified, competent, *American American* to replace him?

Why are his principal Assistants and Consultants selected only from the most infamous list of overt, active, self-confessed Marxists? Are there no qualified, competent, *American American*s to take their place? Was their appointment, and is their continuation on Henderson's staff and the taxpayers' payroll, happenchance or design?

The 130,000,000 Americans single out Leon Henderson and his Office of Price Administration for contemplation as both a symbol and a symptom—

A symbol of the entire Washington bureaucracy staffed with its many counterparts of Robert A. Brady, Tom Tippet, Dewey H. Palmer, Karl Borders, Harold Loeb and John Edelman—

A symptom of the hallucinations that vex the Utopian post-war World Planners and of the



pathological compulsions" that goad them on in their schemes for the "liberation of the world"—a "liberation" that will free the socially undeveloped and unproductive peoples to greater impotence, the while the United States is reduced to the status of a tribute nation, damned by Donald Nelson's recently expressed "Great Opportunity" to house, clothe and feed them as a part—the major part—of the New World Order.

*What's cookin'?*

WHY?

—o—

Attorney General Biddle has stated that the "Government will be slow to give up its present powers after the war," and OPA Administrator Leon Henderson says "price control will have to continue after the war."

*"The American people are now face to face with the facts. If they want a continuation of the sugar and gasoline and tire rationings and limitations on other necessities of life continued after the war; if they want the regimentation and the limitations now imposed upon business, industry, agriculture, and the citizens generally to be continued permanently after the war; if they want small community industries to remain paralyzed through continued priority controls after the war—then they should keep the New Deal administration in overwhelming control of the Government."*

—Representative Roy O. Woodruff

"Leon Henderson wanted to resign recently but was told to hang on until after election, when the 'right men' would be in office and he would get better co-operation . . ."

—Danton Walker, Daily News, July 28, 1942.

# ENROLL FOR VITAL VOLUNTEER SERVICE ON THE HOME FRONT!

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Inc.

342 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

I hereby enlist in support of your patriotic program to win the war and preserve the American way of life, and to this end,

- ☐ I will distribute literature and preach the gospel of Americanism wherever I go.
- ☐ I enclose \$      for which please send me      copies of "WHAT'S COOKIN'?" by Carter O'Connor.

PRICES—Single Copies.....10c      Twelve Copies.....\$1.00      100 Copies.....7½c

- ☐ I enclose \$      as my contribution in support of your essential endeavors.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....CITY.....

HELP WIN THE WAR! DO YOUR PART TO PRESERVE THE REPUBLIC!

# AN AMERICAN APPEAL

A VOTER WRITES HIS CONGRESSMAN

Scotia, N. Y., July 24, 1942.

The Honorable F. D. CROWTHER,  
The House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Crowther: This letter is democracy at work. This letter represents what we are fighting for. This letter is the first I have ever written to you or any Government official.

For years I have sat back and watched selfish little individuals and pressure groups write, telegraph, or travel to Washington to ask for favors.

For years I have wanted to write or to ask you for just one favor—good honest government for me and for all the people.

But I wondered what my one lone letter—just like my one lone vote — could do. So I didn't write. I didn't ask.

Now at long last I'm so stirred up—the cause is so vital—that I'm writing my first letter—asking my first favor. It is this:

You don't realize how much more willing I am to make sacrifices to win this war than you think I am, and that goes for millions of Americans like me who have yet to write their first letter. You underestimate us.

So get us straight:

Vote that \$6,000,000,000 tax bill that doubles my income tax.

Withhold 5 percent—10 percent—of my savings next year.

Make War Savings bonds compulsory. (I'm already investing 11 per cent of my salary.)

Put a ceiling on wages and all prices.

Ration my gas—take my spare tire—take my car if you need it.

Ration my food—my clothes—my fuel. My great-grandfather got along on what I waste.

Help Leon Henderson—he's got hold of a tiger by the tail. Help him hold it or it will eat us all.

For once in your life, forget the folks back home. Vote a clear, firm "yes" if it will win the war. Let that be your only test.

Do this and you won't have to worry about reelection for the duration.

This letter is democracy at work—a private citizen with no ax to grind—telling you not how to vote but telling you how he feels so that you may know better how to represent him.

This letter is from a plain citizen with two children, a mother, a job, and a home, and a long-neglected right to express the way he'd like to be governed.

There are 10,000,000 like me in the United States. We will decide the election this fall. Don't underestimate us. You vote as courageously as we are willing to sacrifice and nothing in this world can stop us.

With utter sincerity,

WILLARD V. MERRIHUE.

ESS:DS

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DATE 11/23/01 BY 35063/EW JAR-NC

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. UGO CAIUSI  
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

As of possible interest to you, there are attached hereto photostatic copies of certain pamphlets which were referred to the Bureau by Mr. Paul B. Williams, Editor of the Utica Daily Press, Utica, New York.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure

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RECEIVED-DIRECTOR  
F.B.I.  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION  
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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September 18, 1942

RECORDED

Mr. Paul B. Williams  
Editor  
Utica Daily Press  
Utica, New York

Dear Mr. Williams:

I have received your letter of September 14, 1942, together with the enclosures, and I want to take this opportunity to express to you my appreciation for your interest in so corresponding with this Bureau.

You may be assured that the information submitted by you is being carefully noted for appropriate attention.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

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U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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# Utica Observer-Dispatch

PUBLISHED DAILY AND SUNDAY

## UTICA DAILY PRESS

EVERY MORNING EXCEPT SUNDAY



UTICA, NEW YORK

Sept. 14, 1942

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover,  
Federal Bureau of Investigations,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

The enclosed came to me as editor of The Press. It may  
be worthy of attention by your men.

Yours truly,

*Paul B. Williams*  
PAUL B. WILLIAMS

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Kramer	
Mr. McGuire	
Mr. Quinn	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	

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DATE 1/23/01 BY 39063/ELW-DK/TK

September 9, 1942

Dear Mr. Congressman:-

At the risk of being indicted for impairing the loyalty and morale of the armed forces, I venture to suggest that the so-called Report by Attorney General Biddle concerning his alleged investigation of "subversives" in Government employment was deliberately intended to undermine the work of a Committee of Congress. Its effect, however, will be to destroy the faith of the American people in what was once a highly respected agency -- the Department of Justice.

This "Report" is a mass of confusing statements; a jumble of fancy and fact -- facts which have been manipulated to cover up what a genuine investigation would disclose. It is a hoax and an off-color "white-wash." It is a despicable fraud and an insult to the intelligence of every member of Congress.

This is no time for cross-word puzzles. Yet the Attorney General confounds the issue with a conglomeration of weasel words and foxy figures palpably devised to hide the truth. He alludes to reports sent to agencies; to hundreds of persons still under investigation; to 389 cases in which no replies from superiors have been received; to a few dismissals and "disciplinary action," and concludes that his agents wasted their time. It is as unintelligible as it is unintelligent. Only one thing is indisputably clear: according to Attorney General Biddle, there were no subversives in the Government -- and "the Dies Committee is to blame for it all."

Mr. Biddle's report states, in effect, that of the 1121 listed, as members of subversive groups, by the Dies Committee, only three are guilty -- all the rest are good Americans, above reproach, who have had no subversive leanings or connections and, therefore, deserve to remain in their Government jobs. Moreover, Mr. Biddle, by implication, put this interpretation into the mouth of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, who is known to have the confidence of the American people. The investigation conducted by Mr. Hoover's F.B.I. warranted no such conclusion. It is, therefore, an injustice to Mr. Hoover and an affront to Congress to attempt to convey such an impression.

Let Congress ask Mr. Hoover point blank if he will vouch for the Americanism of each and every individual investigated by the F.B.I. in this connection, and who is still on the Government payroll.

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8 171 JUN 15 1961

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By including a memorandum from an "Inter-Departmental Committee," Mr. Biddle attempts to make it appear that great care was taken by a select group of high officials to see to it that the investigation was properly conducted and appropriate action taken whenever the facts warranted. That the members of this Committee did not do their duty is evidenced by the fact that officials of their respective Departments neglected to reply in connection with reports submitted in 389 individual instances, and, seemingly, were permitted to flout their superiors, the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Congress.

Since you are now privileged to assume from Mr. Biddle's "report" that all "subversives" have been separated from their Government jobs, I would call your attention to the enclosed booklet "WHAT'S COOKIN'?" which contains some interesting information regarding the backgrounds and beliefs of several Federal payrollers who are still at work in the OPA. And since Congress directed the Attorney General to investigate all suspected subversives in the Government it is fair to assume that these individuals were investigated by the Department of Justice and given a clean bill of health. I would leave it to your own good judgment whether or not the OPA officials named deserve to remain on the taxpayers' payroll.

In considering the Attorney General's "report" and his slander of the Dies Committee, I would respectfully suggest that you bear in mind Mr. Biddle's long-time association with some of the elements which he was supposed to investigate. Mr. Biddle once wrote poetry for a Communist magazine which was partially owned by his wife, Katherine Garrison Chapin, and which was edited by Robert Minor, now acting in ex-convict Earl Browder's place as General Secretary of the Communist Party.

You should also know that Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, Herbert E. Gaston, who, after Mr. Dempsey's resignation last June, served as Chairman of the "Inter-Departmental Committee" was in charge of propaganda for the ultra-radical Non-Partisan League which worked in concert with the I.W.W. and other radical groups in the early twenties. Mr. Gaston later joined the staff of the "Leader", the official organ of the revolutionary Socialist Party.

In view of all these peculiar circumstances it is obvious that steps should be taken to ascertain the facts -- both Congress and the American people are entitled to know the truth. In the public interest, and in order to insure the continued maintenance of its own prestige, Congress should order an immediate investigation of Mr. Biddle's "investigation."

Very sincerely yours,

JPKm

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, Inc.,  
342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

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DATE 1-23-01 BY 3903/ELW-JAR-10  
For release Afternoon papers Sept. 10, 1942

New York, Sept. 10.--Attorney General Francis Biddle today was charged with having written poetry for a Communist magazine, and his report on the investigation of "subversives" in the Government was branded a "hoax," a "white-wash," and a "fraud" in a letter written by Joseph P. Kamp, executive head of the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., and sent to every member of Congress.

It was charged, too, that Mr. Biddle had had a "long-time association with some of the elements which he was supposed to investigate."

Mr. Kamp also accused Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Herbert E. Gaston, who served as acting Chairman of the "Inter-Departmental Committee" which participated in the investigation, with having been a leader and propagandist for the Non-Partisan League "which worked in concert with the I.W.W. and other radical groups."

Secretary Gaston later was on the editorial staff of "The Leader," official organ of the "revolutionary Socialist Party," Kamp stated.

The Biddle report, wrote Kamp, will tend "to destroy the faith of the American people in what was once a highly respected agency -- the Department of Justice."

Because "both Congress and the American people are entitled to know the truth," Kamp concluded that, "in the public interest and in order to insure the continued maintenance of its own prestige, Congress should order an immediate investigation of Mr. Biddle's 'investigation'."

The letter said:

"Let Congress ask Mr. Hoover point blank if he will vouch for the Americanism of each and every individual investigated by the F.B.I. in this connection, and who is still on the Government payroll."

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Constitutional Educational League, Inc., Incorporated

Kamp accused the Attorney General of attempting, in his report, to make it appear that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, "who is known to have the confidence of the American people," shared his conclusions.

With the Kamp letter was enclosed a 32-page booklet, published by Kamp's organization, and entitled "WHAT'S COOKIN'?" which, according to Kamp, definitely establishes that several high placed OPA executives, mentioned in the booklet, have been either prolific writers of Marxist propaganda, or have records of affiliation with known subversive groups.

In calling attention to their writings and records, as set forth in the booklet, it was intimated that these Government employees were representative of many others who were given a clean bill of health by the Biddle report.

"WHAT'S COOKIN'?" primarily is devoted to a discussion of the confusion and suspicion surrounding the sugar, rubber and gas rationing orders of the Office of Price Administration.

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Among the officials whose records are revealed are:

The booklet, written by Carter O'Conner, also discloses that the recent proposal, of President Roosevelt and the United Automobile Workers, that family income be limited to \$25,000. a year, is an old "leftist" ideal. It was first proposed, the author says, by a group of radicals who held a "Congress" in Washington, in 1933. Borders and Edelman, the booklet states, were leaders at that "Congress," which also proposed "to join with similar groups abroad in demanding a new world order."

CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, INC.

New York, N. Y.,

September 28, 1942.

The report in New York is that the financial end is taken care of by

The ~~X~~Chicago Tribune

The ~~X~~New York Daily News

The ~~X~~Washington Times Herald

Frank ~~X~~Gannett - Newspaper Chain

~~X~~Committee for the Nation.

When this organization opened an office in Birmingham, Alabama and the Tennessee Coal and Iron put out thousands of Kamp's booklet "The ~~X~~5th Column in the South" the story told here was the T.C. & I. gave the organization a nice piece of change.

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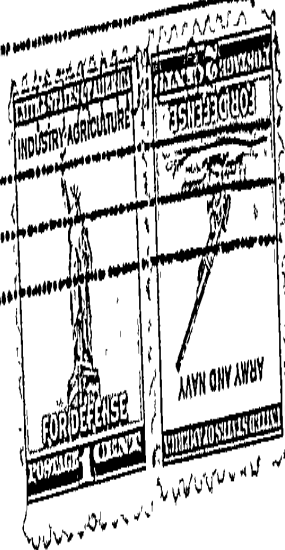
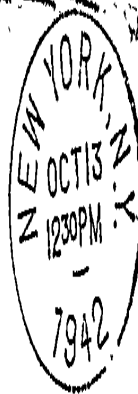
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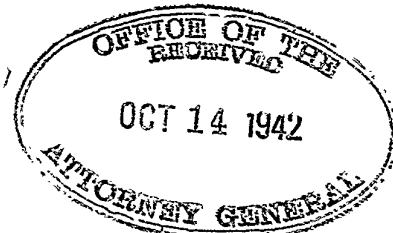
Hon. Mr. Biddle, Attorney Gen'l. of U. S.,  
Washington, D. C.

ANONYMOUS  
KEEP ENVELOPE ATTACHED

New York, N.Y., October 12th, 1942.

3

Hon. Mr. Biddle, Attorney Gen'l. U. S.,  
Washington, D. C.



My dear sir:

After hearing Mr. Winchel last night, he spoke of you going to try Joe Kamp and Gerald Smith for un-American activities. I am giving you the names of a few people who have contributed right straight along, I believe, to the Kamp publications, located at 342 Madison Ave., N.Y. City. These same people have contributed to another publication with the same purposes in mind anti-Jew anti-Roosevelt, anti-Labor, namely, the National Republic, run by George Blasser, 103 Park Ave., City, and Walter Steele, of Washington, D. C. Both of these outfits Kamp and Blasser have employed the same salesmen who go from one to another. When they take a woman and they play mostly old ones for the Kamp deal, these same salesmen join the Blasser racket and take the same woman again. You may, if you wish, contact [redacted]

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b7C

[redacted] You might also see A. Shaner of Bolivar, N.Y., Wm. Dusenberry, Olean, N.Y. These people might tell your office a few things if they dare.

I believe a raid on the files of Kamp and Blasser would reveal a lot of information the gullible American people have been waiting for.

Mr. Luther Konatz of P. M. New York City, has a copy of the canvass used by the salesmen of both of these outfits, and I believe this to be only a mild one. The Blasser deal, I understand has the OK from the Metropolitan police of Washington, D.C.

Hoping these few lines will benefit your office a great deal.

AN AMERICAN

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November 3, 1942

Mr. Tom Glasgow  
Glasgow-Stewart and Company  
208 East Fifth Street  
Charlotte, North Carolina

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DATE 11-13-01 BY 3902 ELW DAK/ML

Dear Mr. Glasgow:

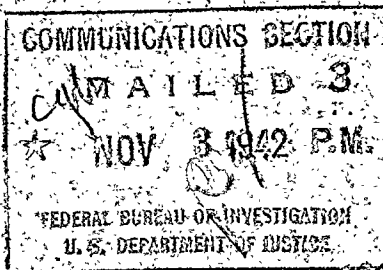
This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated October 20, 1942, the content of which I have carefully noted.

I am appreciative of the interest which prompted you to make inquiry of the FBI concerning the matter about which you wrote, but find I am unable to be of any assistance to you in connection with it. This is so because of a rigid policy of the Department of Justice which precludes the release of any information from the confidential files of this Bureau without prior express authority from the Attorney General of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Coffey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Kramer \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. McGuire \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_





TOM GLASGOW  
PRESIDENT



TOM STEWART  
SECRETARY & TREASURER

208 EAST FIFTH STREET  
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P. O. BOX 967

October 1942  
20th

*to  
see*  
Mr J Edgar Hoover  
Department of Justice  
Washington D C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/28/01 BY 39803/ew Jax-nc

Dear Mr Hoover:

I have received copy of the Booklet entitled  
~~"WHAT'S COOKING?"~~ This Booklet was mailed to me from  
the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., of 342 Madison  
Ave., (New York).

In this booklet there are one or more quota-  
tions from the F. B. I.

The booklet seems to be dedicated to an  
attack on the OPA Office personnel with Communistic back-  
ground.

I will indeed appreciate it if you will  
give me the benefit of your judgment as to the reliability  
of this Constitutional Educational League and whether it is  
a Partisan-Republican-Propaganda or an Anti-Administration-  
Propaganda or in your judgment a bonafide American infor-  
mation Agency.

The courtesy of the benefit of your opinion  
in this matter will be sincerely appreciated.

Yours very truly,

*Tom Glasgow*  
Tom Glasgow

*ack 11/3/42  
KCH*  
TG:L

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OCT 22 1942

# PUBLICATION ON FILE

New York, N.Y.

RRG:EMC  
100-22533

November 7, 1942  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

03247

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

RE: JOSEPH KAMP  
INTERNAL SECURITY (G)  
SEDITION

Dear Sir:

I am transmitting herewith a report of Confidential Informant [redacted] dated [redacted] relative to JOSEPH KAMP and publication styled THE AWAKENER. I am also enclosing Volume 1, Nos. 1, 2, and 3 and Volume 2, No. 19 issues of THE AWAKENER with the copies of the informant's report.

The JOSEPH KAMP referred to is believed to be identical with the JOSEPH KAMP, subject of the report of Special Agent Ralph P. Lawson dated July 22, 1942 at New York City, the character of this case being Internal Security (G).

Copies of the informant's report are being retained in the New York case file in this matter for information purposes.

ENCLOS.

Very truly yours,

P. E. FOXWORTH  
Assistant Director

Enclosures 6  
cc 65-3137

61-10355-198X

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

JAN 26 1943

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DECLASSIFIED BY *Spl. B. B. B.*  
ON *12-10-51*

*C.N. 246, 217*

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JAN 5 1943

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

Constitute. I do not remember the address but [redacted]

a sheet of the ~~ITALIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY~~ which listed KAMP and VARNEY as secretaries and executives and the telephone number on that letterhead was identical with that listed in 1932 or thereabouts for the ~~CONSTITUTIONAL EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE~~. This sheet of stationary [redacted]

b6  
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[redacted] the ~~ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE~~ in Chicago. Of course [redacted] the League but I understand that the (out of business since 1934) COORDINATION COMMITTEE INC. of the late ALLIE ~~FRIED~~ [redacted]

[redacted] the League.

b) KAMP and VARNEY at that time according to [redacted]

[redacted] JOHANN GEORG ~~VON STEIN~~, COLONEL EDWIN ~~EMERSON~~, GEORGE SYLVESTER ~~VIREECK~~, the late RALPH ~~EASLEY~~ (not a German agent but working with them in 1933 and 1934), etc.

Note that on the masthead of the AWAKENER on page 2 JOSEPH KAMP is listed as Executive Editor of the AWAKENER and LAWRENCE DENNIS is listed as one of the Associate Editors. Note also that SIMON LEVY SEE has a signed piece in one of the issues.-- The given address of the AWAKENER PUBLISHING CO at 11 West 42nd Street was the law office of JUVENAL MARCHESION and another Italian lawyer.

This report is submitted in connection with [redacted]

[redacted] WINCHELL the other day that "the F.B.I. will shortly be ordered by the Attorney General to investigate KAMP and have him indicted."

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED *ON THIS*  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED *ENVELOPE*  
DATE *12-10-85* BY *SP6 RJA/142*  
*C.N. 246,217*

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ENCLOSURE

61-10355-198X

## Orderly Debt Relief versus Inflation

By LAWRENCE DENNIS

THE central ideas of any realistic attack on the debt problem may be stated in the form of three simple and obvious propositions. One, if the debt burden is too heavy, it should, and ultimately will, be reduced. Two, the debt burden can only be reduced by cutting down the principal and interest due. Three, the usual ways of reducing debt burdens employed in the past, namely, the processes of mortgage foreclosure, bankruptcy and mutual agreement following prolonged or preceding inevitable default are altogether unsatisfactory and the more rarely used method of extinguishing debt burdens by inflation and currency devaluation is equally to be avoided.

Obvious as the first proposition may appear, it is contradicted by the fundamental assumptions of most of Mr. Roosevelt's agricultural and monetary policies. These policies assume that it is possible to render easier the payment of debts by raising prices. Nine-tenths of the intelligent people who discuss the debt problem today state it as a commonplace that if prices could be raised, debts could be more easily paid. They consider this proposition so obvious that they do not think it needs proof. These addicts of price-raising never once grasp the rather simple notion that debts are only paid out of net income, that is if they are really paid. A farmer's gross income might be doubled and at the same time his debt paying capacity might not be increased at all, the reason being that the farmer's gross outgo might be increased by rising prices more than his gross income, with the result that his net income might be less after prices had risen. Mr. Roosevelt's price raising measures are already showing a tendency to raise the farmer's costs or out-go more than they raise the farmer's income, with the result that the farmer's net is less.

It is, of course, easy to show on paper how all prices might be raised in just such ways as would lighten the debt burdens of the now embarrassed debtors. The income of debtors would, under these schemes, if successful, be raised more than their out-go, with the result that their net income would be increased. But while it is easy to outline schemes for achieving this ideal of a new and better distribution of income and out-go, it has not yet been demonstrated that price raising devices can be worked in ways to effect just the changes necessary for the relief of the debtors. It is easy to raise all prices, if the government is willing to go far enough in the way of inflation. And if the government does go far enough, as did all the belligerent governments in Europe after the war, it will happen that debt burdens will be reduced. The important point to retain in this connection is this: If the government goes far enough with inflation to enable debtors easily to pay debts, or as in the case of Germany, to make the value of the largest debt less than the price of a postage stamp, the government has reduced the principal amount owed. The government has not made it easier to pay debts. The government has cancelled debts.

It is not a quibble in logic to stress the point that if the debt burden is too heavy it must and will be reduced or cut down. If this obvious truth were recognized, foolish attempts to increase debt paying capacity would not be

raising and debt easing will be abandoned. If it be recognized that the only success the government can possibly have in the way of relieving the evils and burdens of excessive debt is that of reducing the real amount owed, then policies can be selected intelligently with a view to accomplishing what is possible—debt reduction—in the best possible way. As it is, foolish measures are being tried with a view to achieving the impossible—maintaining excessive debts and raising income to meet their charges.

Again let it be repeated that to carry inflation to the point of making the payment of excessive debts possible is a dishonest and disastrous policy. The payment of debts may then be legally effected, but actually the debts are not paid. They are cancelled in a most inequitable and vicious manner.

As far as debt burdens, whether of Farmer Brown, Homeowner Jones, or the City of New York, are concerned, there is really only one serious problem calling for attention: that problem is the choice of the method of debt cancellation and reduction for the government to apply. To pretend that one is working out a scheme whereby present excessive debts will be paid, is merely to create a mystification which may serve the purpose of putting over a cancellation of debts by currency devaluation. If present debt burdens are excessive, they have got to be reduced by virtue of the very meaning of the term "excessive." The only question is, how shall excessive debts be reduced? There is no question for honest and intelligent minds as to how excessive debts can be paid. They can't and won't be paid and whoever advances schemes for paying them is trying to sell his fellow-countrymen a gold-brick.

The best thing for creditors as a class is to recognize that the debt burden is excessive and that some reduction both of principal and interest is necessary or inevitable. If this be recognized, then the right amount of debt reduction at once necessary can be approximately determined and the least harmful and most equitable ways of reducing the debt burden can be chosen. There is no question as to whether the debt burden is going to be reduced, though many bankers and bondholders seem still to think that they can avoid the inevitable. The considerations which should guide the statesman in his search for the best means of reducing the debt burden are those just indicated: the minimum of harm to the community resulting from the processes of debt reduction to be followed; and the maximum of equity for all creditors and debtors.

Broadly speaking, all debts and their corresponding credits should be merged, or pooled, and whatever percentage of reduction of the total amount that might be necessary for the present should be evenly imposed on all creditors and bondholders pro-rata. The scaling down should be effected promptly. It must be done by the Federal Government. The principle of equity for all creditors and debtors should be respected as in bankruptcy proceedings, and the special rights now safeguarded by contract and law should be modified wherever necessary in order to effect the most equitable settlement for all.

Questions of public safety and justice

## The Truth About The N. R. A.

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

IT is high time that the uncensored truth be told about the N.R.A. For five months the nation has quivered with hushed and reverent breath under the fearsome shadow of this sacred lama of laws. The table-smashing fist of General Johnson, the revolution-threatening voice of Donald Richberg, the omniscient Beatrice Webbism of Frances Perkins have become national symbols of a hoped-for recovery. To criticize was sedition. To oppose was to commit the veritable sin against the all highest.

They have been happy months for our code czars in Washington. Coming from nowhere overnight, they have imbibed the exhilarating breath of a power which no private American citizen has ever before possessed. They have sat on economic thrones, and with studied solemnity, they have meted out life and death to suppliant American industries. With pontifical voices they have declared the obsolescence of economic laws as old as the human race. It has been a great party while it lasted. Now ominous signs are appearing that the bubble is about to burst. The big administrator and all the little administrators and administrators will soon be scurrying about looking for other jobs.

The wonder is that the country has stood it as long as it has. American politics has seen many strange economic rain-makers coming and going down the long stretch of our national history. But certainly, never before has anything so impossibly fantastic as the N.R.A., imposed itself upon the sober judgment of this supposedly practical Yankee nation.

### Unsound in Economics

If there are any unsound and universally discredited economic principles that Richberg and Johnson missed or overlooked in drafting the law last April, it must have been by accident, not intent. Hoary economic fallacies that had been parentless since the days of Adam Smith, regained paternity in this amazing quinquessence of "New Dealism".

Imagine a measure which soberly proposed that if American employers were not making a profit, they could regain prosperity by increasing their overhead costs 20, 30 or 50 per cent, paying for same, assumedly, out of the profits which were non-existent. Which is the same as saying that if a man is on the verge of bankruptcy, he can avoid ruin by suddenly doubling his expenses.

Or more fantastic yet, the assumption that an employer whose present balance sheet was so ruinous that he could not secure a loan to finance a production program from any banker still in possession of his senses, could suddenly secure credit to expand enormously his present production, if he went to the banker with a balance sheet showing that he had added a fifty per cent wage increase to his liabilities.

Or the notion, emphasized so far in the A.A.A., more than in the N.R.A., but implicit in the regimentation philosophy of the latter, that a nation can become great

by body of administrators of outstanding national prestige. In an effort which required the non-partisan acceptance or sacrifices by the whole American population, it would have seemed obvious that men of such towering public stature and disinterestedness as Alfred E. Smith, Nicholas Murray Butler, James W. Wadsworth or Frank O. Lowden, to choose names at random, should be drafted to put it over. The very presence of such men on its board would have stamped it with the solemnity of a sacred national undertaking. Instead, nobody who could be considered as a representative of the Republican element of the country was appointed to the N.R.A. administration. Even the conservative wing of the President's own Democratic Party was ignored. Unknown and radically minded men, in many instances, were appointed to the key positions.

A worse error of strategy followed. It should have been obvious that a measure which depended so vitally upon the winning of the good will and the voluntary cooperation of the conflicting economic elements of the country should have avoided scrupulously any appearance of coercion. To coerce industries unwillingly into codes or agreements which they deemed inequitable would have been a Pyrrhic victory at best, as the complexities and technical intricacies of code administration would give any unwilling code signers unlimited opportunity to sabotage the whole experiment.

Unhappily, the administrative staff lost little time after appointment, in sounding the note of compulsion. The threat of the boycott, the summons to the country to "crack down" on dissenters, the amazingly tactless manner in which the popular Mr. Ford was handled, were irritants which soon stirred a reaction. When overzealous enthusiasts such as Mr. Matthew Woll proposed to turn the membership of the A. F. of L into a sort of Cheka which should police the industries of the nation on behalf of the law, many people began to feel that the measure was doomed by its own friends.

Undoubtedly, the introduction of the "Blanket Code" or the President's agreement, was the major blunder of all. The task of bringing the great industries under the codes within a reasonable length of time, was itself crushingly difficult. Certainly, the role of wisdom would have been to simplify the task of the administration as much as possible, at least, during the early weeks. But instead of simplifying its task, the Administration deliberately multiplied its difficulties a thousand-fold by adding to its original program the sudden codification of all the millions of small stores, and midget employers throughout the United States, representing an infinitude of individual problems. In the attempt to apply the blanket code impartially to each of these small business units, the Administration soon found itself stirring up friction and animosities which eventually created a great body of public opinion in each community which was openly hostile to the whole N.R.A. This "calen-

attempts to increase the price of commodities by raising the price of money. As it is now, the price raising expedients of Mr. Roosevelt will either fail completely, both to raise prices permanently and to increase the net income of debtors available for paying debts, or else Mr. Roosevelt's expedients and others yet to be taken will succeed both in raising prices and reducing the real amounts owed.

If it is recognized that the only success that Mr. Roosevelt's expedients or any other government measures can have in respect of excessive debts is the success of scaling down such debts, most of the present expedients for price

it seeks to measure. In other words, it introduces another economic uncertainty into a world which is already prostrated by existing uncertainties. It cannot even permanently benefit the farmers, in whose interest it was assumedly adopted, because it will compel a farmer whose life is already made unendurable by the gambling uncertainty of crop prices, to accept yet another gamble in the fluctuations of the money in which he receives his pay.

The most fatal weakness of the Administration, it is beginning to be apparent, is a chronic inability to resist the blandishments of our economic eccentrics. In the N.R.A., in the A.A.A., in the Securities Law, and now in the monetary policy, theoretical eccentricity seems to be the open sesame to Administration favor. Instead of government by the "best minds", government by the "best guessers" seems now the rule. Admit that the American people may have wearied of the inadequacies of our "best minds" in the early days of the crisis. Is it reasonable to suppose that we can now better ourselves by attempting government by coincidence?

As the new monetary policy unfolds itself during the sad months ahead, there will be many Americans who will find themselves regretting that our national leader, has not, like Mussolini, vowed loyalty to his nation's money by a speech at Pesaro.

Orthodox economists have been practically a unit in lauding the Administration's amazing acceptance of the Cassel-Warren theory of the relationship between gold and prices. The theory is at best but an hypothesis. Prof. Cassel, the well-known Swedish economist, first advanced it as an explanation of the identity of the world level of prices of 1910, with the level of 1850. This identity he attributed to the volume of gold. Allowing for a three per cent annual increase of gold to meet expanding world needs, he worked out a definite relationship between price levels, and gold supplies. In other words, he advanced the "quantity theory of money," that prices vary with the quantity of money in circulation.

Most economists differ sharply with this view. They declare that the correspondence of price levels of 1850 and 1910 was based upon a coincidence, and not a law. They assert that many other factors enter into the determination of prices besides gold supplies, and that to base a policy upon gold alone is childish.

To attempt an experiment with the Cassel-Warren theory at this time, followed by the adoption of the Irving Fisher "commodity dollar", would be to stake the whole economic future of the country upon monetary guess work; proposes the illogical thing that money, the measuring rod of commodities, shall fluctuate with the thing which it measures.

"After having wrecked the confidence of the community and debtors can be successfully dodged by treading the primrose path of inflation. But if this policy be followed, the consequences will be disastrous for all concerned. Bondholders and creditors should clamor for prompt reduction of principal and interest on outstanding debts to be effected by Federal action, in lieu of the cancellation of debts which must go with inflation. Public spirited citizens of every class should demand an orderly reduction of debt burdens, public and private, to avert the disorderly and disastrous reduction of debt burdens through the processes of inflation.

The officers of the Administration by their acts and expressions have destroyed the confidence of the business community in the security of private property and paralyzed economic initiative and constructive enterprise of American citizens.

"By their proposals for redistribution of wealth and expropriation of private property, they have caused the liquid capital of the country to seek safety abroad.

But perhaps the most striking illustration of the economic infantilism of the N.R.A. framers was their utter failure to foresee that it would aid the industries where there was the least unemployment, and offer no relief at all to the industries where unemployment was acute and overwhelming. As written, the law proposed to give a sudden stimulus to the consumers goods industries which, according to a survey conducted by the Harvard School of Business Administration, averaged a production dip of only 10 per cent, even at the trough of the depression, but offered no immediate plan whatever to lift the production in the capital goods industries where unemployment was 50, 60 and even 70 per cent below normal.

It was inevitable that a measure so amateurishly conceived should end in a diminuendo of futility. But the worst is not yet told.

Not only has the N.R.A. failed to revive industry, its effects have overflowed its field and halted the revival of agriculture. With ironical perversity, the N.R.A. quickly jacked up the prices of consumers' goods which, in turn, struck the farmers a fatal blow at the very moment when they were staggering back to a partial recovery. The rise in the price of agricultural products, which was designed to pump more purchasing power into the industrial market, thus found itself neutralized by the rise in the prices of the goods which the farmers had to buy, and plunged agriculture back again to the starting point of the whole A.A.A. project.

Administrative Blunders

So much for the economics of the N.R.A. Its administration has been similarly, unfortunate. First of all, a fatal mistake was made in not setting up a non-partisan

in the banking system of the country by unnecessarily closing all its banks and keeping most of them closed, they have now undermined the faith of the community in its currency by deliberately seeking to depreciate it in terms of other currencies and encouraging speculation for its depreciation.

"Yet these officers have sought to persuade the American people that their personal assurances, their good intentions, or their public spirited impulses should serve as sufficient substitutes for established constitutional guarantees of personal liberty and freedom of the press, while in the same breath, they have characterized any appeal to the constitution or constitutional rights as dead cats and any anxiety for the preservation of essential American institutions and liberties as hogwashes."

Articles Invited

The editors of "THE AWAKENER" cordially request short contributed articles from writers reflecting the "Right" viewpoint in contemporary American life. Articles on economics, politics, and brief book reviews will be especially welcomed.

war-worshipping spirit of the Administration, to use Mr. Walter Lippmann's vivid phrase, substituted speed for success in the enforcement of this intricate economic experiment, and wrecked the whole attempt.

It is customary for apologists for the Recovery Act to cite the sociological benefits which it has brought—the ending of child labor and the destruction of the sweatshop. Without questioning the obvious desirability of such ends, it would be appropriate to point out that such an adventure in social reform was not the purpose of the Act. The N.R.A. was enacted as an economic measure to accelerate recovery. If it throws off by-products in the nature of desirable sociological reforms, these by-products can hardly be accepted as substitutes or justifications for unsound economics or unworkable industrial regulation. They constitute a separate problem which ought not to be confused with economic recovery.

Untimely Unionization

By the same token, the great growth of trade unions under the N.R.A., whether desirable or not, must be regarded as a distinctly bearish influence on the whole undertaking. One of the major causes of our general economic dilemma is the intrusion of fixities and rigidities into an economic pattern which was formerly regulated by the easy flow of supply and demand. To add the rigidity of a fixed and frozen superstructure of trade union wage contracts to an economic apparatus, already staggering under a burden of inflexibilities, can scarcely be hailed as progress. One of the fundamental advantages which has been enjoyed by American industry over British industry in recent years, has been our freedom from the trade union restrictions which have fettered British enterprise. Our abandonment of this immense advantage of flexibility is now instanced by many of our middle-headed economists as a justification for the N.R.A.

The only apparent effect which the mischievous Section 7 of the law has registered has been to excite 1,000,000 wage earners in the last four months into strikes which have paralyzed the whole recovery program. A nation which, amid its other agonies, had been mercifully spared the attrition of class warfare and devastating strikes, found itself suddenly stricken by this added calamity, through a law of its own enactment. It is as if a man already ravaged by tuberculosis, seeks to cure himself by inoculating his veins with smallpox.

In the face of the sickening record of failure which has attended this ill-fated experiment, the American people have before them no other alternative but the abandonment of the N.R.A. President Roosevelt is too logical a pragmatist to continue to pour water into the wrong house when the nation's citadel is burning. Let us enshrine and lay away General Johnson's house of cards, without mourning and without regret. If the experiment has permanently taught the American people that no Government can set itself in the face of natural laws, and economic sanity, the lesson will have been cheaply learned. Seven thousand years of written human history have shown us that there are no short cuts to economic prosperity. Not even the "Brain Trust" can re-enact Joshua and bid the economic sun stand still for America.

## BOOKS WHICH INTEREST US

THE CREDO OF AN EX-TECHNOCRAT  
By SIMON LEVY S&E

DEBT AND PRODUCTION—By Bassett Jones—John Day &amp; Co., New York, \$2.50.

"Debt and Production" by Bassett Jones is undoubtedly one of the most important contributions to the science of American economics yet published. This remarkable book can be summarized in two sentences as follows: under a regime of "laissez-faire", as we have known in the United States in the past,

(1) When expansion of industrial equipment stops, industrial production must necessarily decrease and remain at a low level forever after.

(2) As a result thereof, our whole capital debt structure will completely collapse.

Surveying the development of industrial production in the United States from the year 1800, (when it was practically nil) up to today, Mr. Jones points out that:

"If the growth of steel production had continued at the same rate as in the middle 1800s, the amount of steel produced in 1930 would have been considerably larger than the earth. Also, if the production of coal continued to grow at the rate of which it was growing in the 1890s, it would not be very long before it would reach a produced tonnage so great that the entire globe would have to be of solid coal to permit of its realization."

It is obvious that industrial production cannot continue to grow at a constant rate. Mr. Jones shows, that:

(1) Production of goods in all forms must reach a maximum.

(2) There are two extreme types of production: Type "A" of non-renewable raw materials (ores, coal, oil) the production of which will attain a maximum and then recede towards zero.

Type "B" of renewable elements (food stuffs, water power) the production of which will tend towards a maximum.

Of course, most types of production are of a type "C" (intermediate between "A" and "B"). At first, production increases very rapidly, then it continues to increase, but less rapidly, (according to Mr. Jones for American industrial production as a whole, that change occurred around 1910, so that the war had nothing to do with it)—eventually it reaches a maximum (1929), after which production must recede.

In other words, now that there are no more new steel mills to be built, steel production will remain at a low percentage of total capacity; now that there are no more shoe factories to be built, shoe factories will remain on a part time schedule and shoemakers in the bread lines, unless the government does something about it.

When we come to the section in which he discusses debt, we find ourselves agreeing with Mr. Jones that we are nearing a collapse of our top-heavy debt structure.

It is interesting to note that the "wickedness" of fixed indebtedness had already been realized by the great thinkers of Medieval times, at a period when production was stationary. With a deep understanding of economic realities the Church Fathers ostracized interest as "sin". Later came a period of rapid expansion, which made pos-

NATIONAL LABOR BOARD  
DOOMED

(Continued from page one)

The N.R.A. leaders cannot protest that they did not have an enlightening precedent before their eyes in creating their mediation machinery. Italy, for the last seven years, has been conducting an experiment of world importance in compulsory arbitration. For the first time in history, Italy, once the most strike-torn nation in Europe, has succeeded in utterly eliminating the strike and lockout from its national life. For the last four years, not a single strike of more than the most minor local importance, has stained Italy's industrial life. It would seem obvious that our Administration, in setting up the Labor Board, would carefully study the methods which Italy has used in achieving this remarkable reign of economic peace.

Had such a study been conducted, it would have been discovered that Italy's success resulted from her policy of taking the final settlement of disputes completely out of the hands of the two partisan disputants, and placing them under the control of a disinterested, non-partisan body which could be biased by the interests of neither side.

The Italian Law for Collective Labor Relations set up a supreme labor tribunal to which industrial disputes could be referred after the disputants had failed to reach agreement themselves. This tribunal contains no representative of either faction; it is a permanent body composed of three judges of the regular Italian Court of Appeals, assisted by two technical experts, who are chosen by draft. It is as if, in America, we chose the members of our National Labor Board on the basis of the same qualification of disinterestedness which we require in selecting the members of our Supreme Court. Manifestly, only a body thus selected, can have the moral weight to win public acquiescence in its decrees.

Did our N.R.A. leaders attempt to establish a tribunal of this character? Unfortunately, they did not. Instead of attempting non-partisanship, they decreed bi-partisanship. Blinded by their political philosophy that society is but a stalemate in a class conflict between two irreconcilable classes, the Richbergs and the Wolmans could not have envisaged a social order in which class conflict would be sublimated into corporative nationalism. Their strategy is predicated entirely upon the attitude of rivalry and struggle.

It was inevitable then, that the Labor Board which arose from their effort was, at best, but a debating forum of partisans of the two disputing classes. Ostensibly, the Board consists of three representatives of labor, and three representatives of the employers. It is its head, casting the deciding vote, is Senator Wagner. This is the apparent character of the Board. Actually, the New Dealers, in practice, have not even consistently observed the principle of their own dubious policy of bi-partisanship.

The three representatives of labor are not evenly divided among the groups composing the 48,000,000 Americans whom the Census lists as "gainfully employed". On the contrary, two of the three, Mr. Green and Mr. Lewis, are professional representatives of the American Federation

## MEN AROUND ROOSEVELT

(1) Prof. Irving Fisher

Irving Fisher, for a period of not less than thirty-five years has loomed as the master miracle man of American economics. In his economic pronouncements he has exhibited a capacity, not only to produce rabbits from hats but even, if necessary, to produce hats from rabbits. Certainly nothing better emphasizes the utter recklessness and caprice of the New Deal than the sudden emergence from obscurity of this discipleless prophet as the monetary adviser and inspiration of the administration.

For more years than most of the Brain Trust have been in the world, Prof. Fisher has trod the highways and byways of the United States preaching the gospel of the commodity dollar. The sheer earnestness of his presentation has won him a hearing but few believers. Until the advent of "Happy Days" to Washington, he was regarded by his economic peers as a brilliant mind wrecked upon the same reef which had scuttled the hopes of a "Coin" Harvey, a Jacob S. Coxey and a "Thousand Per Cent" Miller. In short, he was a gifted economist with a tragic fixation on the money question.

But now the tables are turned on his former critics. Prof. Fisher, with his colleague, Prof. Warren, treads familiarly the solemn antechambers of the White House. He sits in grave and dominating conference with the great. His commodity dollar bids fair to become the money standard of the nation provided, of course, that there are any commodities left to evaluate after the New Deal gets through with us.

As he looks backward benignly from his present eminence, it must seem to him a far cry to yesterday. There are memories that the Professor would be glad to expunge forever.

There is, for instance, the day on October 22, 1929, just a few days before the historic crash in the stock market. On that occasion, Prof. Fisher felt constrained to issue a warning to security owners not to sell, because the market was going higher.

"In my opinion", he stated in the New York Times of that date, "current predictions of heavy reactions affecting the general level of securities find little if any foundation in fact." Six days later the bottom fell out of the market, followed by a dismal, downward slide of security prices that was to

continue for three years, leaving the Professor moré on the shoals of his own prophesy.

Or else, there are the unfortunate pronouncements which Prof. Fisher has uttered at intervals in recent on the subject of prohibition. In 1926, he wrote a "Prohibition At Its Worst". There is a certain grim h in rereading today one of the chapters of this book entitled, "Prohibition Can Be Enforced". After adm the existence of evil conditions under prohibition, the fessor optimistically sums up his chapter with these w

"If we ultimately correct them (the evil c tions) they are now in the nature of temporary destined to fade away in a few years while the from prohibition will go on indefinitely."

Alas for the author, the future was soon to prove it was prohibition which faded away, while the good i it accomplished remained but the wraith of a reform dream.

"All that the Wets can possibly accomplish is l of enforcement or nullification", the Professor conti in this curious book. Seven years had not passed whe Professor saw, before his startled eyes, the accom ment of constitutional repeal by these very Wets.

Perhaps it is unkind to resurrect these forgotten pi ecies of the Professor. But would it not be more ur to the American people to forget the fact that the whose judgment is now being trusted by the Admini tion in our monetary policies could have been so ut and incredibly wrong on the two other major proble our times?

While to the average American the managed d still remains as illusive as the Einstein theory or as E dean cube root, it is comforting to know that there c and goes in Washington a man like Prof. Fisher who kr all about it. Having picked the present depression such uncanny accuracy, we feel glowingly secure in realization that in selecting Irving Fisher, the Pres has at last found a man who, if such a thing were poss could unerringly pick the date of the next depression. date will be the day when the country is so bereft of nomic common sense that it will entrust its future des to a Fisherian commodity dollar.

## ANOTHER SOCIALIST APPOINTED

Washington.—The appointment of Professor Paul H. Douglas of Chicago University as chief of the Bureau of Economic Education of the Consumers' Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration was just recently announced. Professor Douglas has long been an active member of the Socialist Party. During the 1932 presidential campaign he served as one of the campaign managers for Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate. In his new position, this militant Socialist will have abundant opportunity to broadcast Socialist propaganda while speaking as an

## EDITORIALS — Continued

have administered the Act. The fact remains, that its tory has been but a record of sordid scrambling for c advantage and personal exemptions.

The whole experiment is an illuminating demon tion of the thing which is the matter with America to The springs of idealism have dried up in our body pol Our political life has ceased to be a dedication of ur fish patriots to the service of mankind: it has becom

sible the maintenance of interest, but now that expansion is over, debtors must either secure moratoria from their creditors or go into default. It would be most enlightening to have a qualified authority on common law, a professor at Fordham University, for instance, publish in "AMERICA" or a similar publication, a study identifying modern thinkers like Mr. Bassett Jones, the engineer, and Mr. J. Maynard Keynes, the economist, with Saint Thomas Aquinas, who now finds himself gloriously vindicated after a span of centuries.

## MR. SWOPE'S SECOND PLAN

(Continued from page one)

deepen and intensify the division and class rivalries which ordinarily remain latent.

Whether Mr. Swope acknowledges it or not, his philosophy, both in his earlier plan and in the present, is pure Fascism. But it is Fascism without the mainspring which alone makes the Fascist clock revolve.

That mainspring is a spiritual political organization of the people in a movement which was relentlessly upon the old mentality of class conflict and faction. Without such an antecedent political organization, the N.R.A. must remain but a futile gesture. The American business man who trusts his destiny to a super trade association within an N.R.A., such as Mr. Swope proposed, will find himself harassed and penalized by the continual intervention of politically-minded Congresses which will increasingly side with the wage-earners and farmers against the industrialists for the obvious reason that the two latter classes comprise a vastly larger number of votes.

On another page of this issue we are showing a picture illustrating the boast of one of the radicals in Washington as reported in the New Republic, that at last the "bear's paw of the employers" is in the trap which the Marxians have laid for it. Certainly, to place American business permanently in the vise of a political instrumentality such as the N.R.A., as Mr. Swope proposes, is to sign the death warrant of American capitalism.

The alternative, should Mr. Swope wish to pursue his thought to its logical conclusion, would be to create an inspired popular movement of the American masses which would first renovate the political machinery of our nation and eliminate government by minority blackmail and class log-rolling. Such a movement would be dominated by a strong executive power at the top which would hold its mandate, not from shifting and vacillating rival groups, but from a great patriotic national organization of the people, which would cut across the lines of all classes, and personally the unwavering policy and will of the nation as a whole. Doubtless such a program lies far in the future for America. But if it sounds chimerical, Mr. Gerard Swope has only to look to Europe where great nations of people have recreated their national character by such a political rebirth. Certainly, not until his shrewdly conceived economic plan is complemented by such a political change in the machinery of American government would we advise Mr. Swope to trust the destinies of General Electric to a continuing N. R. A. of Johnsons, of Wolmans and of Richbergs.

of Labor whose membership, it was reported at its recent convention, is only a little over 2,000,000. The third labor representative, Mr. Wolman, is a Socialist, and if he has any labor affiliation at all, it is as a representative of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a Socialist union of perhaps 150,000 members, by which he with whom he has long been intimate. The 48,850,000 American workers who are non-members of these two union bodies have no representation whatever on the Board.

But when we come to the analysis of the three employer representatives, the unrepresentative make-up of the Board becomes still more painfully clear. It is superfluous to point out that if a bi-partisan Board were to be created, common decency should have dictated that the representatives of the employers should be men just as partisan and typical of the employer position, as are the labor representatives who face them across the table. Thus, if the Administration feels that hard-boiled trade unionists such as Mr. Green and Mr. Lewis are appropriate representatives of American labor as a whole, the same logic should have led to the selection of employer representatives who personified the same die-hard spirit on the employer's side. Otherwise, balance would be lost.

This obvious policy of fairness and balance, the Administration made no effort to follow. The three men who were selected to represent the employers were, in every case, utterly unrepresentative of the orthodox employer attitude. Mr. Teagle and Mr. Swope, although symbolizing the highest type of industrialist, are both distinctly individualistic in their economic thinking, as contrasted with the average American employer. Did such a grouping exist, they could be described as belonging definitely to the "Left Wing" of American employers. This we say, with no thought of disparagement, but in emphasis of their inappropriateness to represent the majority employer attitude.

Of Mr. Kirstein, the third employer representative, the most descriptive characterization which we can offer is to state that he is a business associate of Edward A. Filene. Unquestionably, Edward A. Filene is one of America's most admirable business leaders. His life has been an unwavering consecration to civic duty, as he has conceived it. On a non-partisan board, Mr. Filene or Mr. Kirstein might conceivably have been exceedingly useful members. But to appoint as one of the three employer representatives, on a supposedly bi-partisan board, the alter ego of a man who at the recent convention of the A. F. of L. out-Greened their own president by telling the trade unionists that he wanted to see 25,000,000 members enrolled in the A. F. of L., is a travesty upon every rule of justice. On all questions of trade unionism, it gives capital but two votes against four votes for the union.

It is inevitable, in view of its membership, that the record of the National Labor Board to date has been one unbroken catalogue of victories for the A. F. of L. Realizing the futility of it all, Mr. Kirstein is the only one of the employer representatives who regularly attends its meetings. Its permanent executive functions are exercised in the absence of the busy Senator Wagner by William M. Leiserson who has quite appropriately been appointed sec-

official representative of the United States Government.

Considerable interest in Washington has greeted the news of Professor Douglas' appointment in view of the fact that he has been given a position similar to that formerly held in the Consumers' Advisory Board by Professor William F. Ogburn who resigned in mid-Summer in protest against the inefficiency of the Board. At the time of his resignation, it was recalled that Professor Ogburn had been the director of Research of President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends, and the opinion was expressed that his connection with the Hoover Administration had made him unwelcome to many of the radicals in the N. R. A. The fact that the choice of the N. R. A. has now fallen on an outspoken Socialist, after a member of the preceding Republican Administration had found it impossible to work with the Board, is interpreted by many Washington observers as an indication of the extreme "Left" tendencies which now dominate the Recovery Administration.

## "CRACKING DOWN" ON THE NEWS

(Continued from page one)

table price fixing schemes of the A.A.A. is functioning so slowly that several hundred thousand applications are now piled up awaiting their turns at the mortgage banks. It will be months before any considerable number of them have been reached. The hog-corn program, despite much publicity, has advanced hardly beyond the discussion stage in most regions. Practically no wheat allotment money has been seen in the wheat belt. The much-touted advance in grain prices so far has benefited only the speculator; the farmer will not feel its effects at all this year.

The grievances which will be aired by the farm belt Congressmen in January will make the uproar which was heard during the Hoover days seem like a summer zephyr. The farmers will be here with blood in their eyes, demanding to know why public officials who are face to face with a major economic catastrophe cannot for once cease to be politicians and start slashing red tape.

Secretary of the board. Mr. Leiserson, a philosophic Socialist, comes from the same Amalgamated Clothing Workers group which has also given the nation a Mr. Wolman and a Mr. Hillman. He is the man with whom our American employers first deal when they find themselves in the toils of the Board.

The whole enterprise has been an unhappy but characteristic episode of the "New Deal". The embittering fact about the whole sorry incident has been the injury which it has done to the cause of genuine industrial conciliation in America. It would have been so easy for the President to have appointed a board which would have spoken in thunder tones against the wave of strikes which is now engulfing our recovery. Instead, he has appointed a Board which has condoned them. But to have appointed a truly non-partisan board, the President would have had to break through the whole, greedy, power-drunken ring of Socialists and trade unionists who now encircle him. Not until he has taken this step can America hope for justice or for recovery.

those who are so fortunate as to sit in on its equivocal operations.

This cancer of materialism, if left unchecked, will inevitably destroy the form as well as the substance of democracy. No popular government can endure whose electorate has become corrupted. No purging of the temple of money changers can be successful unless the people themselves have the genuine desire that the temple be purged. Today, America is in the grip of a spiritual malady which is dooming our liberties. Not until we witness a great spiritual rebirth in American political life, cutting across the lines of parties, of factions and of classes, and dedicating great masses of the population to the realization that the citizen exists for the state and not the state for the citizen—not until then, will America regain its lost civic soul.

Such a rebirth must come, not from the empty leadership of Socialists and Communists. It will come as the triumph of a revived and inspired conservative leadership which is now appearing upon the horizon of American politics and which will inevitably restore America to its lost civic ideals.

## WE OBLIGE, MR. PRESIDENT

The necessity for an honest and alert national publication which shall reflect the growing criticism of the "Brain Trust" policies among thinking Americans, was never better stated than in the words of President Roosevelt himself, as quoted in "TODAY," on November 18th.

Speaking to a group of newspaper men who recently visited him, the President commented upon the almost unanimous support which the American press had given his policies.

"But there is a fly in the ointment, gentlemen," he continued. "Where is your criticism? You know the Government can make mistakes and this program is too vast an undertaking for any one man or set of men to be sure of. We are certain to make blunders. I can rely on you newspaper men to check us."

"If you see us going wrong, for goodness' sake, sing out about it. There is no kindness in flattering a wrong cause. I want your criticism as well as your support. It is the best kind of backing, and the only request I make is that you be prompt about it."

Those pretended friends of the Administration who have been clamoring for the gagging of the press and the silencing of criticism are doing our national leader the gravest kind of disservice. It is reassuring that the President has spoken out in such unmistakable language against this counsel of folly.



needs to be able to escape at times from the shrill clamor of the "Brain Trust" and to commune with the common people of his country.

"THE AWAKENER" has been established by a group of men and women who disagree profoundly with the present economic policies of the Administration's advisers. We believe that these policies are rushing the nation down the inexorable pathway of social ruin. We shall try to point out in these columns, the reasons for our disagreement, and the alternative policies which, we believe, the Government should follow. In thus pointing out to the President the fallacies of his present counselors, we shall be rendering the most effective service to the nation that private citizens can contribute.

In the giddy whirl of current economic events, it would be futile to draft a fixed or immutable policy. We are living in an unprecedented age. The policies of our Government, as the President himself has wisely indicated, must necessarily be experimental and subject to lightning modification, under the impact of events. However, with this reservation, we recommend to the Administration the following immediate program which shall have the support of "THE AWAKENER" and its readers.

We believe that the Administration should—

- (1) Clean out from the Government offices at Washington the extremists and Marxians who are now misadvising the Administration, and substitute in their places men who are representative of the majority opinions of the American people.
- (2) Repeal the National Recovery Act and get the Government out of the present disastrous and probably unconstitutional attempt to regiment American industry.
- (3) Uncompromisingly oppose the fallacy that prices can be regulated by manipulation of the nation's money, or that prosperity can be restored by the Fisherian "rubber dollar".
- (4) Adopt a farm program based upon the belief that the first step necessary for the revival of agriculture is to get the farmer out of debt, and make available the immense credit of the Government to accomplish this immediate end.
- (5) Speed up the National program of public works to alleviate unemployment by taking it out of the control of impractical and incompetent politicians and placing it under the direction of a non-partisan board composed of the nation's outstanding public men.

It is our belief that the achievement of the preceding program will take us far on the road toward the correction of the fundamental defects in our present economic and social order, with the least derangement of natural economic law, and with the least interference with private property rights and private initiative under our existing capitalist system. It is the inescapable substitute for "New Dealism" which today is following paths which will destroy capitalism and lead our Government to the chaos of national bankruptcy.

causing a net financing total of \$15,000,000,000. Wherein this vast sum to be found if the source of government borrowings is to be dried up by a "flight" from government bonds?

There is a yet graver aspect of the situation. A collapse of government bonds will inevitably bring down our banking system into ruins. Today, 26 cents of every dollar of deposits in our 15,000 banks is invested in government securities. A sudden depreciation of these securities would hurt us back again to the demoralization of last March's bank holiday tragedy.

While there is yet time, let the Government dismiss its Warrens and its Fishers and return to economic rationality. A sorely-tried nation awaits its decision in this need-less crisis.

## No Revolution, Thank You, Mr. Berle

Mr. Adolph A. Berle, Jr., member of the "Brain Trust," and ex-officio spokesman of the administration in economic matters, exhibited himself in print in the New York Times on October 30th with an article in which he warned us direly of revolution. Indeed, he not only warned, he threatened, provided the American people do not toe the mark on the administration's "N. R. A." program.

Such a revolution, he predicted, would begin with the sudden seizure by the government of all the industries, and the commandeering of the nation's economic life. The result of such a step would be the rationing of all the American people under "red cards".

We wonder if Mr. Berle realizes, in his pallid "Fabian socialist" soul, that his revolutionary wind-sowing may reap a whirlwind that he little anticipates. This business of seizing the industries is rather strong wine for a "Brain-Truster". Europe offers some alarming precedents for Socialists who sought to go too far. Today there are colonies of these dejected Socialists scattered throughout Europe, who gaze wistfully from afar at Rome and Berlin and who wish that, in better days, they had avoided the folly of overreaching themselves.

After all, there is a saving balance in the good sense of the common people that rights every excess. Rulers may sometimes fancy that the people slumber, and that any mad step is possible. And then overnight, the great inarticulate mass bestirs itself, and the petty rulers of the day vanish into the thunderbolt.

Certainly Socialists, even of the Rooseveltian family, should be the last to invoke the storm. "THE AWAKENER" sincerely hopes that a testing of strength between the "Right" and the "Left" in America may be permanently avoided. Those behind this publication have dedicated themselves to the achievement of such a program of equity for America as will save her from this ultimate. But if the Berles and the Richbergs continue to threaten from Washington, other schools of thought will inevitably take their cues. The Administration will serve patriotism as well as self-interest if it loses no further time in censoring its Socialists.

at minimum labor costs, in order to circumvent the express purpose of the Act to increase purchasing power. Similarly, the ink was scarcely dry upon the measure when the trade unions began a corresponding rush to stampede labor into their ranks in order that they might enter the code hearings with a strength which would require the manufacturers to yield the closed shop to their organizations. In both cases, the primary thought was not to make a sacrifice for the better success of the law, but to use the Act as a weapon through which advantages could be won for themselves at the expense of other economic classes. They saw in the N.R.A. not an ideal but an opportunity.

The crowds of business and labor representatives who throng the Commerce Building at Washington today have come to the Capital, for the most part, not to help the N.R.A. but to find loopholes and exemptions for themselves from the penalties of its operation. Admit that this attitude of skepticism has been engendered to some extent by the unpardonable mistakes and stupidities of those who

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## THE PRICE FALLACY OF NEW DEAL ECONOMICS

Raising prices instead of raising the average man's standard of living is one of the fundamental objectives of the Recovery program. The farmer wants higher prices, the industrialist larger profits and the factory worker more wages. Mr. Roosevelt, imagining that he is a sort of Santa Claus, undertakes to raise farm prices by taxing the food and clothing of the poor to provide a bonus for the farmer "who ploughs-under his crops. Mr. Roosevelt proposes to increase total wage payments by forcing industries to operate at a loss and use up their reserves. He expects to give business men profits by means of authorizing combinations in restraint of trade.

These Rooseveltian attempts at price raising flout the law of supply and demand. They are doomed to catastrophic failure. To whatever extent such efforts to raise prices and profits by making goods scarcer may temporarily succeed, to that extent they will reduce the real wages and lower the standard of living of farmers and workers as a whole. We cannot enrich ourselves by destroying goods or by abstaining from production. We cannot long raise prices by operating businesses at a loss and out of reserves.

Why must the Roosevelt price raising expedients fail? The answer is that only a drastic change in the balance between supply of, and demand for, goods and services can raise prices, and prices will be raised by such a change only as long as it continues. How can such a price raising change in supply and demand be created? Only: (1) by a great war taking millions of men out of industry and destroying

at times. Today the Naason Organization forecasts such a stampede to Fascism as five years ago it forecast the present business depression.

Who the dictator will be no one knows. Dictators are self-made and usually are men who have suffered persecution rather than men who are elected by popular vote. The important thing for all is that the dictator shall be spiritually-minded and absolutely unselfish with good judgment and indomitable courage. In short, I do not worry about Communism, Socialism, Capitalism or Labor Unionism. The American people will stand these selfish class conflicts for only a short time longer. Then they will rise in their wrath, clean out all selfish groups and substitute an impartial dictator who will give each group its proper place in the development of the nation. This dictator will continue in power until people again come to their senses and catch up spiritually and intellectually with the progress which they had heretofore made along other lines. Yes, statistics clearly indicate that we now are in an economic revolution of which the Blue Eagle will become the symbol of the New Era under Fascism.

additional quantities of goods; (2) by a national calamity like a great famine, plague or the abandonment of efficient methods and machinery in production; (3) by printing so much new money or by such a degree of inflation as would wipe out all the savings of the people, thus driving every one for a short time to a mad flight from a falling dollar to goods.

None of the Roosevelt policies are calculated to change supply and demand in a way to raise prices. In desperation he must finally turn to wild inflation, driving the dollar to zero and wiping out all savings in savings banks, insurance companies and mortgages—all in order to create a price rise through a flight from money to goods. But such a price rise will only last a short while, as it will soon become necessary to adopt a new unit of currency and value.

Human welfare benefits from cheaper and more abundant goods, not from scarcity, higher paper money, wages, prices and profits. Prices must be determined by exchange in a comparatively free market. Prices must fall as increased production efficiency and greater natural resources add to our abundance of supply. A sufficient amount of spending at the lowest free market price level must be maintained to give every one work. Everyone is entitled to as many of the good things of life as he is willing and able to produce with his labor.

If government spending is necessary to increase consumption, let us have enough additional government spending soundly financed. But let us have the government pay for things produced, such as better homes for the poor, or better national defenses for our homes, and not for destroying goods and giving temporary paper money relief to agriculture, industry and banks. If the debt burden is too high, let us scale it down by orderly and equitable processes and not by inflation. Let us raise the national income—not prices.

LAWRENCE DENNIS

A sign of the sinking glamor of the N.R.A. in recent weeks has been the rapidly dwindling number of newspaper men who crowd into the big room on the second floor for the Johnson interviews. Time was when the corridors of the Commerce Building were like an annex to the Press Club. One saw everybody there. Today the main tent has shifted back again to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, where a harassed President wrestles with Professor Warren and Professor Rogers over an unmanageable currency.

One thing which is alarming the "Brain Trust" is the immense and startling popularity of Mr. Ford. Since the flivver manufacturer played Ajax and defied the "New Deal" lightning, he has become something of a legend among the many who had been submitting to the Great Administrator unwillingly and without belief. Stories difficult to believe trickle into Washington about orders telegraphed to Dearborn from automobile buyers who had never before driven a Ford. As Henry P. Fletcher so forcibly expressed it in his recent press statement, the Ford mix-up has become a sort of test-case to determine whether American constitutional rights have become completely subordinated to the will of the Washington bureaucracy.

There has been much merriment in the Capitol over General Johnson's precipitate rush to trade in his Lincoln car, after irreverent newspaper men had sent out a story alleging that the General had bought it almost coincidentally with his "cracking down on Ford" speech. The alert Mr. Michelson saw to it quickly that the nation was informed of this momentous trade-in. But there are still smiles.

The pilgrimage of economic cranks to Washington is still in full swing. At every hotel, particularly in the "Jefferson-Yon-Meter" earnest-visaged men, often with the proverbial beard, who buttonhole you to tell of their plan to save the country by numerology, logarithms, or some variation of the unending money heresy. The faith that the President will listen to them is pathetic. And yet, why not? They have seen Irving Fisher, Mordecai Ezekiel and William C. Bullitt making the grade. They wait wistfully for their own summons.

Middle Westerners, dropping into Washington these days, bring stories that throw a flood of light on the spirit of rebellion which is now flaring up in the granger states. It seems that the pretentious farm relief programs which Messrs. Peck and Wallace have been describing to the country with such glowing optimism are but blueprints on paper as far as the actual dirt farmer is concerned. Notwithstanding the fact that upwards of \$3,585,000,000 has been allocated to the various farm ventures of the Administration, those farmers are few and far between who have yet seen the color of Government money. Tales are told by irate farm representatives which reveal a tangle of red tape which is almost incredible.

For instance, the mortgage relief program which, to the average farmer, takes precedence over any of the de-

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the American dollar the football of foreign exchanges. This policy has disrupted international trade and justly merited for the United States the censure of the civilized world which requires for its prosperity and well-being a comparative stability of the value of gold and the major national currencies such as the dollar, the pound and the franc. Your gold policy has failed to raise American prices, to increase American exports, to check the decline in American industrial production since the middle of last July or to produce one single beneficial effect.

In the face of this dismal record of non-achievement, the suffering American people cannot longer remain silent. The hour for acquiescence and blind, uncritical faith has passed. Obviously, somewhere there has been a terrible blunder. The duty of patriotism is to speak plain words in this national crisis.

The people are beginning to realize what has happened. You have been betrayed, Mr. President, by your own advisers. You are surrounded by a group of men whom you have placed in high office, a dominant percentage of whom, do not believe in the continuity of our American social order. While you were heroically trying to salvage our economic institutions from the most blighting depression in history, these, your trusted assistants, have been trying to destroy capitalism. Instead of saving America, they have endeavored to sovietize it. Under the mantle of your faith and confidence they have wrecked upon the country a blighting and withering Socialism.

The fatal fallacy of every measure of the New Deal, from the A.A.A. to the NRA, has been the effort to divorce American economic institutions from the control of natural economic law. It has long been a truism among Socialist thinkers that the free market is the heart of the capitalist system. With an almost Machiavellian cunning, these Socialists within your administration have already destroyed the free market to such a degree that it seems doubtful if it can ever be restored.

This, Mr. President, is the problem which challenges the American people today. This is the fatal mistake which has wrecked the fair hopes of the New Deal. We propose, in "The Awakener", to point out the men and the measures which are now destroying our American social order. We propose to assess the blame bluntly against those who are now trying to commit the country to an impossible Socialism.

It is not too late to save America. The destiny of the nation, Mr. President, is in your hands. The patriotic conservative masses of the American people want to follow your leadership. They have faith in your character and in your Americanism. They ask you now, before the die is inescapably cast, to disassociate yourself from the Socialists who have been dominating your Administration. The American people beseech you, be great enough to admit the mistakes of your subordinates. Scrap the unworkable economic measures which they have inflicted upon the country. Restore the nation to the rule of natural economic law which alone can return prosperity. A loyal citizenship will applaud your courage in such a decision.

But if you do not act now to stem the tide, if Socialism continues to dominate Governmental policies, if private enterprise and property rights are further abridged, and a return to the kind of America that we venerate is definitely made impossible, then let there be no illusion that the American people will permit a dictatorship of Socialism to descend permanently upon our life. If a permanent economic dictatorship is to come, and it rests with you to avoid it, the "Right" can resort to this remedy, as well as the "Left". If our economic life is to be permanently regimented, let there be no delusion that the American people will permit the Socialists to do the regimenting. While there is yet time for you to restore America to constitutionalism and to sound economics, we ask you, with all respect, Mr. President, to call off your "Brain Trust."

THE EDITORS

industry which includes, coequal with business, the vast social order which includes, coequal with business, the vast classes of the wage-earners, the farmers and the consumers. The problem of the N.R.A. so far, has been, not so much the problem of faulty organization of the employer, as it has been the problem of the hopeless inability of these four conflicting social classes to find an acceptable common economic program for America.

These classes, as they now exist, approach the conferences of the N.R.A. in the spirit of quenchless rivalry and antagonistic social ideals, and every agreement is but an armed truce until the next inevitable conflict. It is futile to unify the business men, but to leave all the other social classes recalcitrant. Not until a social solvent is found which will give every economic class in America a common collaborative goal can an experiment such as the N.R.A. be helpful to the nation. As long as the present mentality animates its components, the N.R.A. will only

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## PARTISAN MAKE-UP DOOMS LABOR BOARD

A New Dealer, recently urging support for the N.R.A., declared that, economics aside, the creation of the National Labor Board with its promise of the peaceful settlement of future strikes was an achievement which justified the whole effort of the N.R.A. Other apologists for the New Deal have similarly been testifying with fervent voices during the last month to the vast social significance of Senator Wagner's committee.

Were these tributes warranted, the editors of this newspaper would be the first to join in the chorus of rejoicing. Admittedly, the time has come when the vast social waste and wantonness of the strike and the lockout can be no longer tolerated in America. The use of blind force in the settlement of the intricate economic problems which are involved in our industrial controversies is as anachronistic as would be the survival of feud law or of the posse comitatus in this age of reason. The continuance of the strike and the lockout is a standing indictment of the powerlessness of our political institutions to curb lawlessness in its major manifestation.

This conceded, the essential tragedy of the N.R.A. is that it has muffed one of the most promising opportunities which has ever arisen in American history to end discord. In its insensate desire to please the A. F. of L. and Socialist leaders in Washington, it has set up a National Labor Board which is so shamelessly partisan and one-sided in its makeup that it is already the subject of jest among unbiased Americans. Being frankly an experiment, arbitrarily created by the President, without sanction of Congress, it was touch and go from the beginning, whether, even under the most scrupulous direction, it could survive. Under its present form and policy, there can be little question of the early collapse of the board, with a disastrous set-back to the whole movement for industrial conciliation in America.

(Continued on last page)

FOR  
THE AMERICANISM  
OF THE "RIGHT"

# THE AWAKENER

A NATIONAL ORGAN OF SOUND OPINION

AGAINST  
THE SOCIALISM  
OF THE "LEFT"

VOL I, No. 1

December 1, 1933

PRICE TEN CENTS



By R. E. S.

The New Deal is fast becoming a new delirium. As the wave of dissatisfaction with the N.R.A. throughout the country becomes daily stronger, a feverish atmosphere has begun to pervade the Commerce Building. Rumors fall thick and fast.

One of the most shuddersome thoughts to the little army which marches behind General Johnson, is the rapidly approaching date of the new session of Congress. To many of them, January 3rd looms on the calendar as a very doomsday. Already, an alarming number of Senators are out in the open demanding the repeal of the Recovery Act. Schall of Minnesota, McCarran of Nevada, Hatfield of West Virginia, and the irrepressible Huey Long have not waited for January but are already speaking harsh words. The latest report has it that Senator Dickinson is already drafting a bill for repeal.

General Johnson has just returned from the bustings where he has been making a furious effort to reconvert the backsliders. His itinerary was carefully selected: his audiences, for the most part, were composed of well-mannered business executives from whom no untoward heckling or interruptions were to be expected. Nevertheless, report has it that his tour was not altogether a happy one. In his private talks with business leaders, he was shocked to learn of the disquietingly large number of prominent men in each city who have given up on the N.R.A.

Upon his return, the General was met by the startling news that, in his absence, even his own office staff have become infected with the trade union fever and are preparing to submit demands. Since the employees of his staff instigating this union move have the open support of William Green, of the Labor Advisory Committee, General Johnson finds himself hoist on his own petard. It would be ironical to see the General's offices picketed by irate unionists, after he has already lost a host of lifetime friends by his inveterate pro-union policies. But it would be an object lesson to him of the social dynamite which he has been unleashing upon American employers everywhere by

## A Letter to the President

Mr. President:

You have now completed eight months of the term of your Presidency. They have been months in which you have been free from criticism and opposition. Partisanship has been silent. Constitutional safeguards have been waived at your request. In the solemn tragedy of their crisis the American people have entrusted to your hands the incalculable power of a dictatorship.

But dictators, be they Constitutional or otherwise, are governed by one inexorable mandate. They must succeed. Since they ask for powers that are denied the ordinary executive, they have no alibi for failure. To this inflexible rule, Mr. President, you are not an exception. The American people expect and demand that the fruit of your dictatorship shall be the restoration of American prosperity.

Eight months ago you took the helm of a nation which was prostrated and demoralized. Your first Presidential message was an inspiration to the people. You promised them leadership, action, and a positive, economic program. The people caught your speech, and under the spell of your confidence, they gave you the A.A.A., the NRA, and the Securities Act—weapons to assist you in your war against the depression.

We believe that you have tried magnificently to do your best. But that best has not been enough. Prosperity has not returned. Despite the prodigious sacrifices and labors of the NRA, the tiny percentage of recovery which has been accomplished in our industries since June first has barely equaled the simultaneous recollection which has been enjoyed during the same months by Great Britain, Canada, Germany, and Italy—where there has been no NRA. Many Americans are beginning to suspect that our little upturn of production has been merely a reflection of a world-wide rebound from depleted stocks which would have come to America inevitably without the dictatorship and without the NRA. Official statistics show that the industrial upturn has now been halted, leaving 10,000,000 American workers yet unemployed.

In agriculture, there is the same tragic story of non-fulfillment. As these words are written, the agrarian regions of the country are aflame with the spirit of revolt. The A.A.A., in its first sensational coup, catapulted the price of wheat at \$1.24. It is now back at \$1.06½. It raised the price of cotton to 12.52 cents. It has now shrunk to 10.25. And with agricultural prices falling, the farmer finds himself compelled by the NRA to pay impossibly higher prices for everything which he has to buy.

In your monetary policy, there has been a similar record of staggering disappointment. Against the advice of the outstanding economists of the country, your administration scuttled the gold standard when our gold reserves were ample to support it and when a reassuring word from you to a frightened people—a word such as Grover Cleveland would have uttered in defense of sound currency—would have sufficed to stop withdrawals of gold and attract shipments of gold from abroad to this country. By declaring your adherence to a policy of repudiation of gold contracts and fifty per cent debasement of the American dollar, you

## MR. SWOPE'S SECOND PLAN

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

About a year before the New Deal began dealing, Mr. Gerard Swope created a nine days' sensation by the startling announcement of a plan to reorganize Society. Viewed in retrospect now, the Swope Plan has receded forever into that half-light where technocracy, give-a-job week, and the "planned society" share niches among the museum pieces of the great depression.

But in the bewilderment of 1931, such a plan, proposed by one of the great industrialists of the country, assumed an extraordinary significance. It came as the first acknowledgment by an outstanding capitalist that the old order could not be restored. During its brief heyday, it became a program which everybody talked about, but which nobody had the slightest intention of putting into practice. Presently the nation ceased discussing it and it passed into limbo.

Now Mr. Swope has resuscitated his forgotten plan and, wisely restricting his recommendation to the employer group which he leads, he has offered it to America as a blueprint for our future. Emanating from one who has been an ardent pillar of the New Deal since the beginning, it takes on significance as an indication of a possible next step in Washington.

Briefly, Mr. Swope proposes to make the N.R.A. permanent and to create a vast, federated super-organization of trade and industry to represent business in its administration. The existing separate and scattered trade and employers' associations would unite in this powerful single body. It would become the administrative organ for perfecting and enforcing the codes.

Actually, Mr. Swope's latest plan is industry's reply to the chaos of politics and trade union log-rolling which has gripped the N.R.A. during the ascendancy of Johnson and Richberg. It proposes that American business take on a unified organization to halt the current pogrom against capitalism. Accepting Mr. Swope's premises that the N.R.A. is to become permanent, American business has no other alternative, if it is to survive.

But, in limiting himself to a plan only for employer organization, Mr. Swope fails to face the question upon which the whole problem of the N.R.A. and its survival, now hinges. That question is, whether or not, self-administration of industry is possible in America without fundamental and corresponding changes in the structure of our political organization.

Unfortunately for Mr. Swope's American business

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# THE AWAKENER

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## Constructive Criticism

—The most alarming aspect of the "revolution" which the New Deal is attempting in America, is the tragic lack of outspoken and effective criticism on the part of its opponents.

Irrevocable steps which would completely transform the economic and political life of America are being undertaken by the administration. At the same time, nothing is more obvious to those in touch with public opinion, than the fact that an immense proportion of our population, perhaps a majority, are distrustful of these measures and uncompromisingly opposed to their socialistic drift. Lacking a medium for opposition, they are going along unwillingly with the tide. The newspapers, the radio, the motion pictures, all the channels of public information have been mobilized in a war-time spirit to discourage criticism and to stampede the nation into unreasoning acquiescence.

Such a situation is a cruel injustice to the President of the United States. He has been chosen as the President of all the people. He is trying, with all his will, to formulate policies which will reflect and integrate the opinions of all classes and social groups. But how can he reach a balance of all national opinions, when the over-zeal of his subordinates is creating a situation in which only one school of opinion can win expression?

Certainly, at a moment in our history when the very foundations of our social order are being transformed, honest and sincere criticism by those who disagree with the transformation is the only restraint upon recklessness and excess. It was President Wilson who once said that he was constantly reinvigorated, in his moments of greatest stress, by detaching himself from his immediate counselors and opening the windows of the White House to the refreshing breeze of inspiration which came to him from the common people throughout the nation. In the present

## CAUGHT IN THE BEAR TRAP



"What we have done up to now is just an effort to get the bear there himself. But once it is there!" —  
claw in the trap. It was imperatively necessary that he put it there himself. —  
New REPUBLIC, August 16, 1933.

## Breakers Ahead

It is no exaggeration to say that the Administration is now facing its most critical moment. Unless a quick reversal in its hopelessly impractical gold buying policy is effected, an early collapse of the Government's credit impends.

Already, the new bond issue emitted by the Treasury on October 11th is selling below par and investors who accepted the issue in the faith that the Government would embark on no step which would weaken public credit have suffered a quick disillusioning.

While the miracle men in Washington are tinkering with the currency, the whole recovery program is jeopardized by the sinking confidence of the American investing public. A recent report of the National Industrial Conference Board indicates that the obligations already assumed by the Government to finance its "New Deal" policies, in

## More Patriotism Needed

One of the most disquieting things in connection with the N.R.A. experiment has been the revelation which it has given of the crass materialism which grips the whole American social structure.

Here we have a program which, whatever one may think of its economics, was adopted as a national life-belt in a moment of deadly national peril. It asked that each economic class in America forget, for a time, the making of profits and the competition for class advantages. All were to unite in an unselfish effort to get the national economic cart out of the ditch. It was to be a time of sacrifices and not of profiting.

The ideal was lofty: the aftermath has been dismally disillusioning. No sooner was the measure enacted, than a great many unscrupulous manufacturers began a frenzied effort to rush production and build up inventories.

## ROGER BABSON PREDICTS FASCISM FOR AMERICA

Address Delivered at 26th Annual National Business Conference, Babson Park, Mass., Friday, Sept. 8, 1933

I forecast Fascism today for the United States. A dictatorship is surely coming. A study of history shows the following four facts: (1) Every nation passes through the same stages. The histories of individual nations differ as to details, but not as to their basic struggles. (2) The world, however, cannot be judged as an entirety. Altho each nation develops from primitive tribal conditions as to a complex civilization, yet all nations are at different stages at one time. (3) The great progress in nations is brought about, neither by the conservatives nor by the radicals, but rather by the great middle class. This middle class puts up with the conflict between the other two classes a certain length of time, and then loses its patience and takes control in the form of a dictatorship. (4) In the case of the Anglo-Saxon race, these changes have occurred about every 150 years. For instance, the religious conflict was supreme until 1492, when we entered the era of reform and discovery, lasting 156 years; in 1648 we entered the period of struggle for political freedom, which continued 159 years; and in 1787 we entered the democratic period of rugged individualism which continued up to the present, namely 146 years. Another great era is now due.

A study of history shows that the world has continually been growing better, but that it can advance only so far materially, politically, and intellectually as that advance is backed up by corresponding spiritual development. As the political, material or scientific advance gets too far ahead of the spiritual advance, then civilization temporarily gets out of balance. The inevitable result has been dictatorship. This dictatorship continues until things again get in balance and another new era begins. In 1928 and 1929, when my Wall Street friends were hailing "A New Era of Prosperity", you know that this Wellesley Conference was then looked upon as a hot-bed of Jeremiahs. We did not believe in that "New Era", and constantly asserted that it was false and would fail. We feel entirely different, however, regarding the present New Era which is set up redistributing wealth. This is now just beginning. We believe this new goal will determine the program for the next 150 years, altho it will soon be found necessary also to redistribute judgment, initiative, industry, courage and those other rugged traits which made America.

Previous eras were brought about by conflicts over religion, politics, and science. This New Era, which we are now entering, is being brought about by a conflict over the redistribution of wealth. It is being crystallized by the immediate conflict between capital and labor, between unionism and the open shop. Neither group will be victorious. The middle classes will stand this conflict only for a limited period. Then due to depreciated currency and high prices they will themselves take charge of the situation with a temporary dictatorship. This dictatorship will take the form of Fascism. Of course, Fascism is only a temporary bridge in the natural growth of a nation. It, however, is inevitable

## SALVATION BY TREE PLANTING

By Royal S. Kellogg

Writing recently to Senator Duncan U. Fletcher, President Roosevelt characterized the shelter-belt program for the Middle West as a scheme "after my own heart". Unhappily, the most generous comment which the American public can make concerning this dubious Rooseveltian project is that it comes from the Presidential heart—it certainly could not be attributed to the Presidential head.

The great scheme as announced by Chief Forester Silcox in July, 1934, was to plant 100 parallel windbreaks, 7 rods wide, one mile apart and 1,000 miles long from Canada to northern Texas. The estimated cost, including purchasing or leasing the necessary land, fencing and planting, was \$75,000,000, to be spent over a period of ten years.

When this plan was made public with the Presidential blessing, there was an immediate authorization by Executive order of \$15,000,000 to start the work. The grand plan was somewhat crippled by the decision of the Controller General that such authorization was not a legal emergency expenditure, but he did allow \$1,000,000 for the purpose—which was spent in such fashion as to make most persuasive the efforts to get subsequent appropriations to carry on the project.

The facility with which the present Administration finds money for visionary schemes is shown by the fact that there has already been an additional allotment of \$1,990,958 from the new Emergency Relief Appropriation funds to carry on the shelterbelt phantasy. With this sum it is proposed to plant 1,400 miles of shelterbelt strips and 6,400 acres on privately-owned farmsteads. In other words, Uncle Sam is to do the farmer's planting for him, in addition to the general shelterbelt plantings upon purchased or leased land. One man in recent public life in the part of the country where the money is being spent, with courage enough to tell the truth, is ex-Governor Murray of Oklahoma who, upon the announcement of the scheme, promptly said that it was "like trying to grow hair on a bald head." The original plan met with much criticism, also, from foresters whose jobs were not dependent upon federal funds, and likewise from other men of prominence with long experience in the midwest.

The \$1,000,000 already spent has provided for the planting of 125 miles of shelterbelts, 8 to 10 rods wide, in selected locations. Official publicity, however, still speaks of the "1,000 mile long and 100 mile wide shelterbelt zone," and there is no question about the underlying purpose of the officials engaged to spend all the public money on this project that they are able to get their hands on.

In this connection it is well to bear in mind Mr. Silcox's announced purpose of the scheme as being:

"The largest project ever undertaken in this country to modify climatic and other agricultural conditions in an area that is now constantly harassed by winds and drought." And also that:

"The President's plan calls, not for scattered planting here and there, but in the designated area, for

period there have been 10 years in which the total precipitation was under 14 inches and 5 years in which it was under 12 inches. During the same period the lowest temperature was 26 degrees below zero and the highest 108 degrees above—a range of 134 degrees. The average wind velocity the year round over this same period has been 11 miles per hour and velocities above 40 miles per hour are common. These figures show what we are talking about when we speak of a semi-arid Continental climate. It is one of great and sudden extremes wherein no reliance can be placed upon factors favorable for the growth of anything.

During the course of successive geological epochs nature evolved the form of vegetation supremely adapted to this region—hardy drought-resisting species of grass and, particularly, the buffalo grass of the High Plains which depends for reproduction more largely upon runners than upon seeds. That is why this region was the home of great herds of bison, followed by millions of cattle. There were no dust storms which, in extreme cases, transported soil clear to the Atlantic seaboard until man destroyed the native sod and gave the gales a chance.

In this region only the most hardy woody species—outside of valley locations or in more favorable localities like the Nebraska sandhills—can be made to grow and then only with constant cultivation to conserve the little moisture that falls and make sure that it does not go to support grass and weeds. At best, trees will not reach a large size and the most of them are likely to be killed in any year when the total precipitation gets down to the minimums mentioned. Recurrent droughts have killed trees by wholesale throughout the Plains region in the past and there is no reason to assume more favorable conditions in the future. There will have to be constant replanting and continuous maintenance expense.

I am saying these things with full knowledge of the desirability and even necessity of planting windbreaks around western farmsteads. I have done it myself and would continue to do so if I still lived in that part of the world, but such planting is not an attempt to "ameliorate climatic conditions over broad areas," as the Forest Service proposes to do at public expense.

National planners are much the same everywhere. They make wonderful promises and leave someone else to foot the bill for their discredited experiments.

## The Case Against Mr. Roosevelt

By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

With such a terrific bill of indictment by the people of three years of Roosevelt Socialism there is no need for unwise talk about the Constitution. It is necessary only to repeat and repeat the catalog of broken promises, of incompetence, of public bewilderment, of extravagance, of vicious profit by the politicians at the expenses of the people.

It was said that things could not be worse. They are worse.

They told us in 1933 that 6,000,000 men would be put back to work through N.R.A. by September 1. There is now, late in 1935, no material diminution in unemployment, despite a vast extravagance of economically unsound and politically rotten relief projects.

In three years the Administration has doubled the National Debt with little if any improvement to show over 1932.

It has violated the most solemn campaign pledges for sound money at all hazards.

Instead of cutting federal expenditures by 25%, as the President earnestly promised he would do, his Administration has multiplied them, and raised them to astronomical sums.

It has nearly doubled the number of people on the federal payroll, without adding a single category of employment to the Civil Service.

In times tending to more and more government control and activity it has revived the Spoils System and substituted it for the Civil Service.

It has prostituted the national credit to legalize political graft and incompetence in the mask of relief.

It has done this more to subsidize votes and keep in power, than to help the people. The very relief-takers, in millions, despite the sincerity and motive of the political gift horse.

By bringing on the Roosevelt banking crisis of 1933 it took away a large part of the savings of the poor at one blow.

By devaluing the dollar it threw away, at one stroke of the pen, 40% of all American credits abroad.

It has committed itself to vast "relief" expenditures the political and social implications of which mean, if the party remains in power after January 1, 1937, complete loss of control of national finances.

By making uncertain the future value of the dollar

it threatens to take away the remaining savings of the people, destroying the security of life insurance, pensions, annuities, bank accounts.

By the political gesture of security legislation it invites the confidence of laboring people everywhere to an old age of security; but by squandering the national finances out of ultimate control, it destroys all the security of the industrial pension savings of employer and employee, while it builds up through the years, not a protected trust fund but a political plunderfund of vast proportions in nominal dollars. Security legislation depends on sound money at all hazards.

By doubling the national debt, by continuing toward further vast and wasteful indebtedness in nation, state and municipality, it has crippled the nation's capacity for defense against any redoubtable foreign foe. It is to be doubted whether the United States could raise adequate funds for national defense on top of a 30 or 40 billion dollar debt, in case of the emergency of war.

But the President is right about one thing. Surveying this panorama of extravagance, incompetence, and political dishonesty, in this morass of public morale, that is now the American scene under the Democratic Administration—amidst all this the President is right about the horse and buggy. Let the Republican opposition not deceive itself into bad politics here. Let it disdain to make promises about the Constitution which it will be compelled to repudiate later.

Whatever party salvages the New Deal will need a plentitude of national power. A national amendment to the federal constitution is necessary, and it is a political mistake to oppose it. To stand for an unamended Constitution and states rights is suicide. It is doubtful if it would catch votes, but even if the Republican Party should devote itself to Jeffersonianism and win a campaign, it will have to repudiate its promises when it confronts later the Augean tasks of salvage and sanitation.

Attack the Democrats in the many weak joints of their expensive armor of extravagance and incompetence and politics and it will fall apart. Political financing and national incompetence are the real issue for 1936. Salvage and sanitation and national salvation are the real objects in view.

the allocations, it has been found that the total amount out of the \$4,880,000,000 which has been assigned to non-Federal public works is just \$330,000,000. If to this we add \$100,000,000 which was allocated to housing, we have a total of only \$430,000,000 available for both wages and materials in the only relief projects which might stimulate employment in the heavy goods industries. The bulk of the remaining amount has gravitated to Mr. Hopkins' restless palms, to be spent on a WPA program which is almost indistinguishable in its uselessness from the CWA venture

## THE MOUNTING SCANDAL OF RELIEF

By GEORGE C. WINSTON

If President Roosevelt is not completely bereft of his political senses, he will lose no further time in making



of work relief. At first, the Hopkins imagination soared to stupendous figures. On November 26th, he released

continuous, practically unbroken forest strips of sufficient width to maintain themselves against the elements."

An even stronger claim officially made by the Chief Forester was:

"The development of this forest protective zone through the Great Plains will be equivalent to creating a more humid belt 100 miles wide in the midst of a region of scant precipitation and recurring droughts."

None of these claims has ever been denied. Neither have the proponents produced any evidence of value in proof thereof. There has been plenty of fine language and references to "social and economic adjustments," but no supporting facts to indicate the probability of accomplishing this vast climatic amelioration. The nearest thing to fact that we have been offered is the Silcox statement that:

"The effectiveness of forest strips in reducing wind velocity has been amply demonstrated. Average wind velocity has been reduced 35 percent during Summer and about 20 percent during Winter by strips planted 600 feet apart in one area; evaporation between the strips by 30 percent."

What a slender base upon which to erect a huge edifice!

Permanently maintained windbreaks of sufficient height, 600 feet apart, would undoubtedly have considerable effect in the reduction of wind velocity and consequent lessening of soil evaporation, but the Forest Service proposes to make its shelterbelts nearly nine times 600 feet apart. Why doesn't the Service stick to the long ago demonstrated physical fact that a windbreak is of little or no effect for more than one rod horizontally for every foot of height?

Assuming once more that planting over this region may be made permanently 100 per cent successful—and that's a tremendous assumption—the shelterbelt in the course of many years might reach an average height of 50 feet and its maximum protection therefore would be 50 rods. But there are 320 rods in a mile. Evidently, to approach anywhere near the possibility of creating the "more humid belt" envisioned by officialdom, we must have at least six plantings per mile instead of one, and the cost, instead of \$75,000,000 would be \$450,000,000 on the basis of the original estimate. Now we are getting into familiar territory and discover how the cost of long range projects is piled upon the taxpayers as the planners progress.

We know plenty about the climate of the High Plains regions for we have long Weather Bureau records thereof. According to the published map, the eastern border of the proposed shelterbelt is roughly to coincide with the 18-inch annual precipitation line in the north and with that of 22 inches precipitation in the south. As I write this I have before me the annual record of precipitation at Dodge City, Kansas—located in the middle of the proposed belt—for 60 years, 1875-1934 inclusive. That average is just over 20 inches with a range from 10 to 32 inches. During this

it pointedly clear to Harry L. Hopkins that his latest relief blunder will be his last.

In any other Administration but the present one, it would be unthinkable that such a pathetic incompetent should be given authority over billions of the people's money. On May 1st of this year, no less than three billion dollars of relief expenditures had already passed through the giddy Hopkins hands. The amount will be doubled before the exhaustion of the present Work Relief appropriation. Its expenditure has been one continuous joy-ride of waste, futility and failure.

Another year of such criminal irresponsibility, and there can be little question that the scandal of Mr. Hopkins will destroy Franklin D. Roosevelt with the relentless certainty of a Belknap or a Ballinger.

It is now becoming clear that Mr. Hopkins and the sponsors who placed him in his present authority have been the evil geniuses of the Roosevelt Administration since the beginning. Every project which they have pressed upon the trusting President has withered into comic opera.

First, there was the initial blunder of breaking up Mr. Hoover's local administration system, under which 17,000,000 beneficiaries were being adequately supported prior to the advent of the new administration. By federalizing the direction of the program under Mr. Hopkins and his Pink settlement-house worker assistants, relief was turned into a political racket from which the nation cannot now extricate itself without shaking the foundations of our social system. A temporary program, which could have been discontinued without social risk upon the passing of the emergency, has been transformed into a political subsidization of one sixth of the nation's electorate.

Mr. Hopkins' next contribution to New Deal wisdom was the notorious adventure of the CWA. In recalling the CWA, there can be no question of the Hopkins parentage. In its heyday, he told the story to his admirers of how he walked into the Presidential office one October morning in 1933 with the CWA project in his briefcase, and after a single interview, walked out again with the Presidential OK. It was as easy as that. Before the President let go of this particular hot potato, it had squandered no less than \$814,000,000 of Federal money, and had set an all-time record in graft, waste, and incompetence, for a Federal undertaking.

With the liquidation of the CWA, Mr. Hopkins looked around eagerly for new worlds of waste to conquer. During the late weeks of 1934, in the delicious rebound from the Congressional victory, he journeyed with Mr. Roosevelt to Warm Springs and sold him the new and shining project



It would be humorous, if it were not pathetic, to recall now the promises which Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hopkins threw out as they wheedled this measure through Congress. The program would be in full blast with 3,500,000 men at work by July 1st, Mr. Hopkins told the nation in January. When July arrived, the specifications for the spendings had not even been decided. The work relief program would be at its "peak" on November 15th, with 3,500,000 on jobs, the President himself announced on April 10th. On October 3rd, Corrington Gill, Mr. Hopkins' assistant, admitted that only 1,126,234 relief workers had yet been placed, and even to reach this total, he found it necessary to fake his figures by including 559,640 CCC boys who had not originally been contemplated as a part of the work relief total. Now, in final demonstration of the dependability of his promises, Mr. Hopkins has released a press statement (October 5th), announcing that his program has been reduced from the creation of 3,500,000 one year jobs, to 3,500,000 nine month jobs, which latter figure will include the 559,640 members of the CCC. One wonders if it was really worth \$4,880,000,000 to the nation to achieve a result so inadequate.

But the principal criticism of the program in Congress last January was the fact that the Hopkins plan would promise only 3,500,000 new jobs (now reduced to less than 2,000,000 excluding the CCC), whereas the total unemployment was over 10,000,000. How were the remaining 6,500,000 to be supported, skeptical Senators asked.

At the time, the Hopkins answer was pat and plausible. The work projects which would be undertaken would be of such a nature as to require an investment by the government in tools and materials which would create 3,500,000 additional jobs in private industry. The understanding was that the projects would consist primarily of public works of permanent value, requiring large capital expenditures in the heavy goods industries, and doubled in cost by equal grants of money from the States.

What has actually happened? With the completion of

which was abandoned in 1934.

Again, there is the instance of the prevailing wage. It was brought out with painful positiveness in Congress last Winter that the payment of the A. F. of L. prevailing wage to relief workers would reduce the possible number of jobs from 3,500,000 to a figure little higher than 1,500,000. In the face of such inescapable mathematics, the President rejected the "prevailing wage," and later established a scale ranging from \$19 to \$24. However, having been a realist for once, the President lost little time in receding from his position. From the outset, the scale was nullified by the exclusion of workers on road building, grade crossing elimination and PWA projects from the "prevailing wage" interdict. Now, under pressure of union and Communist trouble-makers, the President has capitulated all down the line and has granted skilled workers a 30 hour week for a pay scale which was formerly computed upon a 60 hour week basis. The result of this surrender, by halving the amount of work done by relief workers in exchange for their pay, is almost to double the cost of the projects, and thus to limit still more the number of jobs which the appropriated money can provide.

The net of it all is that the \$4,880,000,000 will soon be exhausted, jobs will have been provided for little more than half of the 3,500,000 who were to have been employed, the projects undertaken will have been useless, boondoggling makeshifts which will neither enrich the country by needed public works, nor provide demand for machinery and supplies in private industry, and the next session of Congress will find Mr. Hopkins back again, with no visible dent in the number of the jobless, and with new plans for billions to succeed the WPA. At least, this will be the upshot if Mr. Roosevelt is so incredibly soft as to leave Harry L. Hopkins at the relief helm. With such a pilot, the Federal Government will eventually find itself becalmed in a Sargasso Sea of continuous relief squanderings which will go on unendingly, without visible impression upon the unemployment problem. Relief will become the primary purpose of government. It will be the test of Mr. Roosevelt's character if he has the firmness to defy the Kitchen Cabinet who are rooting loudly for Harry's policies, and to send the vociferous little man back to his New York job of fly-killing.

ADAM THE RAW DEAL

## HIGHLIGHT AND LOWDOWN

(Continued from page two)

As an answer to those who insisted that the NRA personnel working on the job it was disclosed this week that a documented history of the Lumber Industry Code had just been completed. The history of this code takes up over twenty feet of shelf space or the equivalent of 160 books. Now there were 537 codes and some were of considerable more importance than the lumber code so it is very evident that when all of the code histories are completed, if ever, it will necessitate the construction of an NRA library building to house them. Well, that's one way of creating good political-jobs for every loyal party man one of these days an enlightened citizenship will awaken to the realization that what this country really needs is a good man for every job.



## BOOKS WHICH INTEREST US

## A BRIEF FOR COLLECTIVISM

GOVERNMENT IN BUSINESS. By Stuart Chase. The Macmillan Company, New York 300 pp. \$2.00.

It would be difficult to write the story of the New Deal without frequent footnote references to Stuart Chase. It is not merely that Mr. Chase preceded the President in the exploitation of the New Deal name. He has also been the spiritual parent of a surprisingly long list of New Deal deeds.

Not a member of the Roosevelt Administration, it is no secret that he has frequently been consulted by the President and his Brain Trust since 1933, while professed disciples of the Chase economics—Rexford G. Tugwell, Marriner S. Eccles, Jacob Baker, Leon Henderson—have become mighty pillars in the New Deal edifice. The imprint of the unmistakable Chase viewpoint is written large over many of the basic Roosevelt experiments.

For this reason, more than casual interest must attach to Mr. Chase's latest rhapsody over "Government in Business". As a palace friend, the author's undisguised joy over the onward march of bureaucratic collectivism may be interpreted as a mirror of the attitude of many of the leaders of the Roosevelt Administration. And since the book advances its thesis with the usual Chase quality of forthrightness and disarming candor, it is possible to find in its pages the key to much which the Roosevelt official spokesmen have purposely made obscure.

Thus, the author's analysis of "New Deal collectivism" will be found profoundly enlightening. Republicans and other such stiff-necked unbelievers have frequently warned that Mr. Wallace's AAA with its desperate leap into social planning was a long step toward a socialist order. The warning has elicited snorts from the Administration press agents, and furious disclaimers from Mr. Wallace. Now Mr. Chase gives away the whole game by citing the domestic allotment system as a prime example of the approach of American socialism.

"To my mind," he writes, "the most significant of the New Deal agencies from the theoretical point of view is control over agriculture. What, basically, has the Agricultural Adjustment Administration done? It is in the process of collectivizing the largest private business in the nation, composed of 6 million farm units."

And after analyzing the staggering reach of the Wallace program, he concludes with the exultant thought: "The AAA has begun the task of socializing agriculture, and there is, for the discernible future, no turning back."

His translation of the New Deal relief program into terms of socialism is likewise painfully revealing. On page 49, he presents a table classifying \$1,000,000 of the nation's population as present recipients of total or partial government support. "This is about 40 per cent of the nation's population," he observes cheerily.

Mr. Chase advances the interesting surmise, which will doubtless bring froth to the mouth of many a Red-hating business leader, that the success of the New Deal in achiev-

## EDITORIALS—continued

from taking an oath of allegiance to the American Constitution, it is interesting to note that the same conscience did not trouble him in becoming a member of the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, nor in identifying himself with the work of the American Civil Liberties Union, the "main function" of which, according to an official report of a Committee of the 71st Congress, "is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the government."

In New York, when Assemblyman Kaminsky's bill to repeal the Ives Teachers Oath Law was before the legislature last Winter, it is significant that such notorious opponents of our existing constitutional order as Reinhold Niebuhr, Abraham Lefkowitz, and Mary Hillery of the League for Industrial Democracy were the first to rush to Albany to aid Kaminsky in his fight. If a teachers' oath is innocuous, as so many of our liberals claim, why, let us ask our Socialist and the Communists become so excited when its requirement is suggested? The truth is, of course, that the instinct of the revolutionists, in such a situation is much more accurate than the complaisant, muddled instinct of those who would be "fair" to everyone except Uncle Sam.

There is no conceivable logic which can ignore the fact that a teacher in public-supported schools is ipso facto, public official. As such, there can be no question of the justice of the State in requiring from him the same oath of allegiance which must be uttered by any other public servant. To resist such an oath is to admit that the resister plans to enter upon his duties with mental reservations as regard to Constitutional Americanism. And at a time such as this, it would seem that the teacher who insists upon such mental reservations, should have no place in our citizen-moulding public schools.

## PATHWAY TO VICTORY

(Continued from page one)

are repudiated and abandoned the better will it be for the nation. It is this conviction that constitutes the only possible basis for a Republican campaign that honest minds can respect and support.

The indictment of the Roosevelt administration must be fearlessly drawn, not toned down to avoid hurting the tender susceptibilities of the timid and spineless members of both branches of the Congress who, with a false but specious analogy with war-time for excuse, joined the Democratic herd in craven surrender to the President's demand for powers expressly denied him by the Constitution. The plea that the surrender was justified by the emergency is essentially dishonest and dishonorable. Far better for the party to confess that some of its weaklings quailed under the demoralizing terror of disaster and defeat! Honest repentance and confession are better than deceit and hypocrisy.

In great crises the issues which political parties must face are not determined by leaders in conference, but by the confluence of realities. Life is the dictator to whose in-

## MEN AROUND ROOSEVELT

(19) George L. Berry

When Mr. Roosevelt announced the appointment of George L. Berry as the No. 1 "Coordinator" of the expiring NRA it was remarked that the new superman was extraordinarily fitted for a problem of decrepitude. Mr. Berry has probably buried more trade unions than any other international president in the A. F. of L.

It may seem curious to the lay reader that a labor chieftain should measure his success by the unions which he has killed. But there is no mystery about it to the insider. Mr. Berry is one of those extraordinary go-getter labor leaders—someone has described their type as a cross between a Capone and a Debs—who can be found only in the American trade union movement. Their iron control over their membership is maintained by forcible and unhesitating ejection of every local or member who murmurs a protest against their rule.

For twenty-eight years, the International Printing Pressmen's Union has been George L. Berry. Originally a self-governing organization, Berry lost no time, after seizing its presidency, in turning it into the most amazing exhibit of dictatorship that the labor movement has ever witnessed. Hitler himself has never conceived of a fustier shaft more relentless.

A few illustrations will suffice. The members were permitted to continue to vote for the international officers, but the votes were to be counted by a "Board of Electors" consisting of the president, the secretary-treasurer, and a third member to be appointed by the president. The conventions were reduced to two year intervals, and were to be held by statute, not in the large cities where Berry-opponents might crash through to the convention floor, but in an inaccessible privately-conducted Berry village in the mountains of Eastern Tennessee, noted to geography under the name of Pressmen's Home. The president appoints the credentials committee which makes up the convention rolls. Troublesome delegates, arriving in this mountain retreat, the story goes, are met by mountaineers of the Berry clan who discourse irrelevantly about their prowess with shotguns.

A whole chapter could be written about this "Pressmen's Home" enterprise. Mr. Berry proudly points to it as a monument of the care which his union gives to its tuberculous members. There can be no question that it has done worthy and merciful work in this field. But the reverse side of the story, according to certain cynical ones, is that the go-getter president located the establishment in a community, largely peopled by his kith and kin, where extraordinary opportunities miraculously arose for small fortunes in real estate speculation and sultering. Twenty-

five cents a month is regularly collected from every member of the international, in addition to his dues, to maintain this project. It is estimated that the amount which has been spent on the "Home" to date exceeds \$2,000,000. It is interesting to recall that some years ago, the Chicago pressmen's local went into the courts and secured a court order requiring Berry to return \$165,000 of union funds which he had allegedly diverted to his personal business uses. That the years have dealt kindly with the "Coordinator" is seen in the proud press announcement, which appeared upon his appointment, that Mr. Berry was not alone a trade unionist, but that he was also a capitalist, and the possessor of wide business interests. His salary, as president of the pressmen, is \$7,500 a year.

In his function as a trade union president, Mr. Berry has set a high mark for his contemporaries to emulate. He negotiates all contracts and agreements for his local unions personally. Since his agreements with the employers have frequently provided wage scales proportionately lower than those of the other printing trades unions, he has attained a vast respectability among newspaper owners as a "reasonable" trade unionist, and he has enjoyed throughout his public career an unfailingly good press. In the early years, his locals occasionally had the temerity to reject his contracts. But woe to such unions! One instance will suffice. When in 1923, his web pressmen's local in New York refused the Berry contract, and struck, their president quickly brought them to their knees by hiring a crew of strike-breakers, it is said with the aid of the Burns Detective Agency, who broke the strike and were rewarded with the union charter. Pressmen who have incurred the displeasure of Berry through the years may be found in practically every city, permanently barred from the pursuit of their trade. In recent years, few have attempted to cross his will.

There has always been an enterprisingly political side to the Berry character. During the World War, when Samuel Gompers was a sort of Foo Bah in the Wilson Administration, Berry was one of the trade unionists who received the commission of major for swivel chair work in the maintenance of labor morale. Although a Democrat, Berry succeeded in maintaining his White House entree through the 12 barren years of Republicanism. But with the coming of "Happy Days" in 1933, Berry like Donald Richberg, Edward McGrady and Sidney Hillman at last found a President who appreciated his real worth. He entered the NRA with Johnson and he has outstayed them all. As he mounts the Blue Eagle throne, American labor may well exult that one of its finest has at last won the garlands.

## TAXES vs. EARNINGS

(Continued from page one)

tional amendment. Mere stubborn resistance to change is unworthy of a great party and can never inspire enthusiasm.

the government. He writes ironically of the business man who conveniently forgets his fear of oncoming Socialism, whenever that Socialism presents itself in the form of an attractive Federal bribe.

For the future, he anticipates an easy victory for collectivism because "capitalists will not fight very hard for property which shows a net loss." And in his opinion, the losses are quite likely to outweigh the profits in the years which are just ahead. The result will be what he describes as collectivism "by default".

"The question of default or fight turns primarily on the outlook for losses and profits. When the economic mechanism sags, collectivism is likely to come precisely as it is coming in the New Deal. I look for more losses than profits in the next decade, and so a greater advance by default than by battle."

Like so many other contemporary socialists, Mr. Chase disarmingly avoids the traditional and irritating vocabulary of the Marxians. It would be possible for an innocent reader to travel from preface to index in "Government in Business" without once suspecting that he was reading a brief for the revolution. Plausible in his reasoning, transparently lucid in his style, the author rushes the reader through seventeen chapters of socialist pleading under the easy illusion that he is contemplating a plan for the salvation of the existing order. Like his disciples in Washington, Mr. Chase is a past master in the art of persuading his public that the wolf is the champion of the sheepfold.

His contribution to the new socialist terminology is the "National Budget". He would have the tough-minded thinkers get together and divide the nation's economy into two categories: (1) commodities and industries necessary for community survival, and (2) those unnecessary for survival. The first, he would socialize, and bring under the domain of bureaucratic economic planning. The second he dismisses almost contemptuously as "of secondary interest to the community" and he graciously leaves them to the "zone of private enterprise." To indicate roughly the demarcation which he contemplates, he offers the draft of a "National Budget" under which practically every vital and strategic industry is allotted to the socialist area.

Those who have been seeking accurate statistics concerning the extent of the collectivist advance into our profit system under the Roosevelt Administration will find Mr. Chase's survey of the socialized area of American life a sourcebook of hitherto inaccessible facts. That we have already journeyed so far toward the cooperative commonwealth, under the fiction of "liberalism", is proof that the conception of a "National Budget" is neither remote nor fantastic. Dr. Tugwell has described the new system which is rising under Rooseveltism as the "third economy". Mr. Chase chooses to call it the "National Budget". Mr. Browder and Mr. Foster are less subtle in their approaches, and they proclaim it as "revolutionary Socialism". Under whichever name, it must be envisaged by traditional America as the tocsin of an advancing proletariat. The "Government" which the author would impose over "business" is the government of a triumphant revolutionary class.

stitution and the great assurances of liberty and right founded upon it. Even if its leaders desired to do so, the party could not evade the responsibility of that task without self extermination.

Perhaps greatest of all the tests of the party in the coming months, certainly the severest, will be the manner in which it meets this issue of the Constitution. It is fatally easy to mistake the external forms of loyalty for its substance. There is grave danger that a stupid obscurantism in dealing with this issue will weaken the Constitution instead of strengthening it. Life is not an archeological museum with the Constitution as its most treasured exhibit! If we make the Constitution a fetish, a relic of a mighty past incarnating the spirit and genius of that past and symbolising their power to bind the life of the nation for all time, the result will be a strengthening of every element now impelling the Constitution and the rights rooted in it. It will increase the number of whittlers restlessly paring and whittling with small purposes, the muddling experimenters with vague notions of perfection as their aim, the grimly determined engineers of revolutionary communism.

The true view of the Constitution is that it is one of the great instrumentalities of life through which the basic liberties and rights of human beings are secured. It is not a Procrustean bed into which life must be fitted by amputation or repression. The Republican Party cannot brand as treason every suggestion of the possible need for constitu-

tion in the oil industry, is authority for the statement that, taking the industry as a whole, earnings per share last year amounted to \$1.02, while taxes reached the crushing figure of \$5.32 per share.

Business, which has been the target for all of the demagogic legislation of the present Administration, is carrying the major load of the government costs of the country out of a steadily dwindling margin of earnings. And as governmental bureaucracy expands, taxes are steadily eating up the surpluses upon which the livelihood and investing ability of millions of American citizens depends. Somebody has to pay the bills for the blunderers, and it is obvious that it is the very class which the Tugwells, the Berles and the Chases would expunge which is now manfully standing up and meeting the task.

REPEAL THE NEW DEAL

### THE H. C. OF L. ISSUE

(Continued from page one)

of taxes would be complete. Buried in present living costs is the whole burden of the inordinate taxation which is now weighing down upon the American people. Federal, state and local taxes are now accounting for thirty cents on every dollar of national income.

In view of the present New Deal policies, economists such as Professor Melvin T. Copeland, Professor of Marketing at Harvard Business School, maintain that the "stage is set for a price rise surpassing that of the war years." According to his view, the effects of the currency and credit measures of the Roosevelt Administration have not yet been registered in the retail market. When eventually they reach the consumer, there will be a wild and uncontrollable marking up of prices which will rapidly reduce the purchasing power of the American consumer and cause nationwide distress. "The responsibility for this price-inflation," Professor Copeland declares, "rests squarely upon the shoulders of one man, President Roosevelt."

If the first effects of this uncontrolled inflation are felt before the 1936 election, as Mr. Balson and other observers believe, the popularity of the Roosevelt Administration with the classes which have received Federal money will quickly evaporate, as the voters find the purchasing power of that money melting away. The political repercussions of such a situation will be far-reaching. In such an event, the living cost issue will easily thrust aside all the present political interests of the people, to dominate the election contest.

## BOILING IT DOWN

By MEXIA VERNON

Mr. Roosevelt didn't make many full stops on his recent "triumphal tour" across the country—but he was badly slowed down at several important points.

Trying to get off on the right foot from Washington, he planted the other one right squarely on the pet corn of the rival Kentucky Colonel-makers and instantly set the Blue Grass democracy afire with Farley fever.

It spread up into Ohio, too, where the entire population will be without its full and proper representation in Congress next session, because Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Farley were afraid to let the Governor call a special election for a successor to a late Democratic member-at-large.

Things were a little better for Mr. Roosevelt out in the corn belt, where everybody thought it was wise to come to town and cheer for Santa Claus; but it was spoiled a little when some of the more cautious planners of government checks wanted to know what kind of trees the money was growing on.

But it was at Boulder Dam that Mr. Roosevelt became slightly muddled. Grandly astride of the great, substantial achievement of the Coolidge and Hoover administrations, it was a poor place, the Democratic strategists finally realized, for Mr. Roosevelt to make his big stand in behalf of loose spending.

But wouldn't he have been equally absurd if he had chosen to make his great effort alongside of a billion dollars worth of raked leaves and twigs, or the graves of a million pigs?

No matter about waste and extravagance on every hand, and the threat of taxes and more taxes at every turn of the federal clock; Mr. Roosevelt managed to cross the continent at the rate of a smile a minute.

A President may be down, but he is never out—unless the people show some sense on election day.

Likewise the party in fighting the New Deal with its blundering experiments must not be permitted to turn its back to the future and focus its vision upon the past. There are great aspirations for a better and juster social order that are dearly and sincerely held by millions of men and women who are as loyal as any that have ever lived under the Stars and Stripes. Those aspirations cannot be ignored. It is not implicit in any principle of Republicanism that they be ignored or denied. While the party must welcome the support of the leaders of industry and business who are turning to it as the one forceful movement capable of saving our industrial and social order, it must not permit itself to be used by them as a defender of privilege and economic injustice. Instead, every man and woman of toil, whether in factory or mine or field, should find in the Republican campaign the sincerest effort to make America a land in which free men and women find for themselves and their children the only communism that is worth having, communism of opportunity and right.

REPEAL THE NEW DEAL

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been created to socialize other. Certainly, if Mr. Roosevelt and his foolish virgins have already committed us thus far to outright socialism, it would be unreasonable to expect that bureaucracy would relax its grip, in the event of Republican victory, without a terrific struggle within the new administration.

All such discussion may seem academic now when the immediate task before us is the defeat of an entrenched semi-dictatorship. However, it is useful to bear in mind that Republican victory would turn into dead sea fruit if the coming of a new administration would mean a perpetuation of the blunders of the old.

By all means, let Republicans insist that the kind of social changes which are before us must be made in the spirit of a property-respecting, liberty-preserving American Constitution. Let us set our faces like flint against the New Deal proposal of an enabling amendment which will give the Federal government the power to establish a planned society. But let Republicans also realize that the immense task which would follow their victory—the task of liquidating Rooseveltism, added to the achievement of recovery—requires a versatility of mind and attitude which is not in keeping with the dogged faith of so many Republicans that we can slide easily backward into the accustomed ways. Republicanism in the coming years must be dynamic, not static, and must realize that socialism is not the only system which calls for a new vision.

### Good Work, Mr. Eaton

If anybody can restore New York State Republicanism to a political going concern, it seems that Mel Eaton is the man who will do the job. When he took over the State chairmanship a year ago, the party was torn with factionalism and paralyzed by a seemingly incurable case of inferiority complex. In a single year, an amazing change of spirit has come over the whole organization. Today, New York Republicanism is definitely on the offensive—unified, self-confident, and almost completely cured of its twelve year vice of demoralizing introspection.

The present caravan tour through the Up-State counties is a stroke of rare political imagination. A continually changing relay of magnetic speakers, spreading out fan-like through the towns of each county which they enter, and with just enough smart press-agency to capture the attention of the politically indifferent, the tour gives the Republicans the drop on their opponents from the outset of the campaign. It is high-powered politics.

The point cannot be overstressed that it is vital that the Republicans capture the New York Assembly this year, not alone because of the reckless record of the Democrats in Albany last Winter, but because the campaign is a test of anti-Roosevelt sentiment which will have a profound psychological effect nationally upon the 1936 battle. Not an effort or resource should be spared by party members in assuring victory. We are betting that Mel Eaton and his dashing caravaneers will put it over.

are an honor to our schools.

Such an argument ignores completely the immense

movements. Before Dr. Mather's conscience prevented him

(Continued on page four)

## YOUTH TO THE RESCUE

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

Chairman Fletcher made an astute move when he established a division of Young Republican Activities in the Republican National Committee. The need is urgent for the entrance of youth into the party to reinvigorate the lethargic organism of Republicanism. The recognition which the National Committee has now given to this program will give added incentive to its furtherance.

The fact is frequently forgotten by the older leaders that the turnover of party membership, even under normal circumstances, transforms the character of a political party in little more than a single decade. Every year, approximately 3,000,000 young men and women reach voting age. A party which fails to win the majority of these young and eager electors, over a period of a relatively few years, will find itself helplessly in the minority. It will be defeated by the remorseless force of mortality.

It is futile to deny that the Republican leaders of the past have not always been mindful of these obvious truths. During the twelve years of post-war Republican ascendancy, the doors to advancement in the Republican Party too often swung only one way. Easy and continued success bred over-confidence, often arrogance among party executives. The young, with their eternal plea for new party policies, fashioned in the image of their unique, post-war outlook, were too often thrust aside into by-paths of inactivity and impotence, by busy, impatient party leaders.

The chastening experiences of defeat have mellowed the older generation, and awakened it to the realization of its need of the young. Party stratification has broken down. Particularly since the accession of Chairman Fletcher to the party leadership, there has been a cordial disposition on the part of the national leadership to welcome new ideas and new, vital aspirants to party activity.

However, as the young Republicans stand upon the threshold of their opportunity, it should be pointed out that the skeleton organizations in the States which now bear the name of "Young Republicans" are little more than the shadow of what a young Republican movement should be, even in the present period of party prostration. It is all very well for a handful of young party workers to meet in occasional slimly-attended conventions and proclaim to the older leaders that they "control" the youth vote. Too often the votes which are controlled by such armyless generals are as mythical as Mr. Roosevelt's "recovery." Little more than the blueprints of a young Republican movement are now in existence.

To achieve a following, the first task of the young Republicans must be the formulation of a message to Amer-

ican youth. Such a message must ring with the conviction that Republicans understand the social forces of this age, and are mentally equipped to take over the staggering tasks of social reconstruction.

Perhaps the most disquieting thing about the present young Republican leadership is that it is not sufficiently young. Its spokesmen, despite their ages, only too frequently prattle middle-aged ideas, and offer their audiences empty pre-war platitudes. Few of them seem to realize that the task of Republicans next year is not alone a conquest of votes, but that first must come a conquest of minds.

There is little of that stir and excitement of fundamental thinking and probing among Republicans which is such a stimulating feature of Socialist and New Deal youth movements today. If the young Republicans are to wage propaganda successfully among the multitudes of keen-minded young men and women who have reached maturity during the six years of intellectual ferment and radicalism since 1929, their Republicanism must exhibit a sharper understanding of the time-spirit of their public.

This is not to say that young Republicans should make sacrificial homage to the prevailing Socialism, in order to win a following. It is this mistaken idea that the "Left" is the only alternative to reaction, which has destroyed the usefulness to Republicanism of such promising former youth leaders as John G. Winant, A. A. Berle, Philip La Follette, etc. One of the weaknesses of the present young Republican movements in some of the States is that their leaders, having no vital ideas of their own, have put forward a thin, brackish dilute of New Deal socialism under the label of "Liberalism" and have offered it to the country as something new and significant. Being merely a counterfeit of the bolder Roosevelt program, it has, of course, failed to attract recruits from either the "Right" or the "Left."

Young Republicans, if they are to make an impress upon the minds of the armies of youths who, since 1929, have been saturated with Socialist and New Deal propaganda, must demonstrate that Republicanism is not an imitation but an alternative to the creed of collectivism. Such a Republican program must be based upon the recognition that the "Right" can be made just as glamorous to the young as is the "Left," if its veins can be filled with the red blood of positivism.

By all means, let the older members of the party give every encouragement and impetus to the young Republicans who are so courageously going forth to win a nation. But let the young Republicans, on their part, realize that they must be intellectual pioneers, not rut-walkers, if they are to recapture a lost and bewildered generation.



It stands for INFLATION,  
IMPOSSIBLE solution,  
INSOLVENCY will IMPOVERISH,  
Let's have no ILLUSION.

It stands also for ICKES,  
And his INTEGRITY too,  
His IREFUL INEFFECTIVE,  
There's plenty to rue.

Some four hundred odd farmers from the middle west with their wives recently made a sight-seeing trip to the metropolis. Scott Henry, who owns a 300-acre farm at Marion, Indiana, declared that "AAA money was insufficient to do much good", but his wife was very pleased because AAA funds made the trip possible. In fact her good friend Mrs. Paula declared: "I'm going to vote for Roosevelt—then we'll have another trip." Mrs. Henry averred: Roosevelt can't be beaten; you can't tell Santa Claus too quickly."

And F. D. R. believes that if you have the name, you might just as well have the game and so he's gone into the Xmas tree business. Now conscientious parents won't have to lie to Junior. They can tell him truthfully, "We got this tree from Santa Claus."

REFUEL THE NEW DEAL

While it's perfectly all right to spend government funds for sight-seeing trips, etc., etc., under no circumstances must it be used to pay debts. Undesirable as this may seem it is a fact nevertheless that, under date of September 2th, E. A. Wilson, head of the FERA for North Dakota, notified all recipients of allotment checks that if they are so indiscreet as to pay their debts they will be rendered ineligible for future government bounty.

REFUEL THE NEW DEAL

We all remember the New Deal's "honeymoon" days when a mere news reel flash of F. D. R. brought down the house with thunderous applause. The profound silence which greeted his projected image early in 1935 was a first indication of the public's change of heart. And now some of the most disappointed of our citizens find it impossible to restrain themselves and hisses are beginning to make themselves heard.

Last week Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Ingold of Indianapolis, Ind. were arrested by a good Democratic Constable because they were alleged to have hissed a news reel picture of the President. They were held in \$200 bail for a hearing on November 2. It all just goes to show.

### TEASERS FOR TAXPAYERS

An exhibit opened this week at New York University that will give the taxpayer some idea as to where his money goes. There are models of Roman Shops and farms, relief maps of the terrain in the ancient empire, working models of beauty parlors and restaurants in Perdician Greece, a miniature aqueduct and drawings of the Roman Four Hundred that resemble the work of a Fifth Avenue photographer. All were made by relief workers under the direction of Professor C. J. Kraemer, Jr., director of the Cartographic Study. Need we say more?

REFUEL THE NEW DEAL

Another Professor, Dr. Lange has also just completed a bootlegging project called "A Survey of Attitudes". After some twenty months effort and the expenditure of \$100,000, of your money and mine, the good Doctor and his energetic assistants have discovered that if you want to persuade anybody to agree with you, it is unwise to begin by "blatantly attacking" his beliefs. So if you believe the taxpayers money is being well spent, far be it from me to disagree. And by the way, General Johnson who retires as New York's relief director this week as a parting gesture has raised the wages of his staff a quarter of a million dollars a year. Certain Aldermen protested this liberality with the taxpayers money. "I don't give a damn what the Board of Aldermen thinks about this," said Johnson, "this is Federal money." Laugh that off Mr. Taxpayer.

ended by a rift with Senator Cuthbert L. Olson, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and his former ally. Although his words were disapproving, Mr. Roosevelt has attempted to placate Sinclair by appointing George Edward Aker, who was a Supreme Court candidate on the Epic ticket in California in 1934, as a member of the new National Civil Commission, to administer the Gulley Act.

#### REFLECT THE NEW DEAL

While many Eastern Republicans will no doubt respond approvingly to Senator Bewley's blast against monopoly, it will be difficult for him to hurdle the impression which has been made in the East by some of his collateral enthusiasms. The latest of these appears to be the Townsend Plan. On September 7th, the Senator appeared with Dr. Townsend at a mass meeting called by the latter at the State Fair Grounds in Boise and introduced the doctrine to the audience with cordial words. While he has not yet committed himself to the plan, as Governor Morrison of California appears to have done, his attitude indicates that he is not willing to oppose it. And it is inconceivable that the Republican Party would contemplate a Presidential candidate whose attitude is uncertain concerning a plan at which even Mr. Roosevelt shudders.

#### REFLECT THE NEW DEAL

The real news from the A. F. of L. convention is found in an obscure item in Mr. Morrison's annual report. The present per capita paying membership of the Federation, he asserts, is 3,000,000. He points particularly to the increase since 1934 when the membership was 2,800,000. Unfortunately, even this apparent increase reveals itself as a mere bookkeeping entry. At the 1934 convention the Federation voted to admit the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a hitherto independent union. The membership of the Amalgamated appears for the first time in the 1935 figures. It exceeds 200,000. Hence, it is apparent that the number of trade unionists in America has actually stood still during a year which has seen such extravagant Roosevelt gifts as the Wagner Act and the Gulley Bill. And it remains 1,000,000 lower than the official A. F. of L. membership fifteen years ago! Is it possible, one wonders, that Mr. Roosevelt is more enthusiastic about trade unionism than is American labor itself?

#### REFLECT THE NEW DEAL

In all of the current discussion of the potato mix-up in the AAA, the point is frequently overlooked that the Republicans will find it extremely difficult to make a partisan issue of this action in the coming election. An examination of the vote on the AAA amendments, which included the now notorious potato measure, shows that only 6 Republican votes were recorded in the Senate against the bill. The Democratic opposition to the AAA mustered 9 votes, mostly from the North Atlantic States. Republicans who voted aye on AAA included Austin, Borah, Capper, Frazier, Gilson, Johnson, McNary, Norbeck, Norris, Nye, Steiwer and Willis. Party leaders apprehend that such a record will rise up and confound the party in 1936 if it attempts to condemn Triple A in its platform. It is a baffling situation.

#### REFLECT THE NEW DEAL

While some of the early New Deal heresies, such as the rubber dollar and blue eagle regimentation are being relegated to the museum, another curse-all is beginning to loom up on the Washington horizon with astonishing persistence. This is the Social Credit brain-child of Major Douglas. The recent Alabaster victory in Alberta where the Douglasites in their first campaign captured 56 of the 63 legislative seats has convinced many American skeptics that Social Credit has distinct political possibilities. Last year, the late Senator Cutting presented Major Douglas himself to Washington officialdom, but after listening to his theory, few of the guests were seriously impressed. However, just before the adjournment of Congress, Representative Goldsborough of Maryland placed the program before Congress in H.R. 9216, which is almost identical with the model bill which was drafted last year by the official Social Credit organization in New York. Supporters of the new movement will concentrate their energies upon insuring that public hearings will be held on the bill in the House this Winter.

Somebody has said that the appeal of Social Credit is that it promises to combine the benefits of inflation and a continuous bull market. Because it promises to uphold private property rights while renovating our economic system, it attracts a public who would be repelled by any of the other radical programs which are now current. It has already accumulated a large upper middle class and intellectual following in this country under such contrasting leaders as Gordon Munson, Boardman Robinson, J. G. Fletcher, Walter Hampden, John Crane Larkin, etc. So far, the Social Credit movement here has not yet made any visible impression upon the wage-earning or farming classes which are its supporters in Alberta.

that a great historic political party, renaissance, is preparing to defend representative government and human rights against aggressive reaction.

A year ago the outlook was not encouraging. Then the institutions of democratic representative government in this country, together with the system of assured human rights dependent upon those institutions, appeared to be destined to be swept away by the flood of reaction that had already swept away all democratic institutions in so many other lands. The Republican Party seemed to be crushed beyond recovery. The Democratic Party was, and still remains, held in subjugation by the powers of reaction, powers that are both alien and sinister.

Today the Republican Party is aroused and militant. From every part of the country come ringing echoes of its challenging battle cries. The American heritage, menaced as never before, is to be defended by an army confident of victory, not mourned over by a disconsolate, discouraged and impotent remnant. Since 1860, no political party in this country has been confronted by a challenge so vital, or by opportunity to render such mighty service.

It would be a disaster to the nation and to mankind, and not merely another party defeat, if the Republican Party should fail. To avert that disaster it is of the utmost importance that enthusiasm, courage and wisdom be combined in its leadership and in the determination of its policies during the coming months.

The party can win if it is united. It cannot win if it is disunited. All counsels that make for division and disunion, no matter from whence proceeding or what their avowed purpose, are dangerous and reactionary. They spell weakness and invite defeat. The first watchword of the party in this crisis is Unity. Republicans unite, for unity alone can give the strength to command victory!

It is not a question of Old Guard versus New Guard, or of Conservative versus Liberal, or of Age versus Youth. In the party platform, in the choice of leaders, and in the conduct of the campaign the dominant purpose must be to achieve unity, so that every element in the party can make its fullest contribution.

The achievement of this unity does not require compromise or truncation of principle. It does require sacrifice on the part of some, and generous tolerance and wise understanding on the part of all of us. No personal claims, however well-founded, and no group preferences, however admirable they may be, merit consideration and satisfaction at the cost of the least sacrifice or impairment of unity.

Stirrings and upheavals in the party, so far as they manifest strivings toward stronger and better leadership that will unify and consolidate our forces, are to be welcomed. We need the infusion of new blood in our leadership. In every State in the Union there are men and women of ability and integrity who have not hitherto exercised the influence they ought to exercise, or assumed the responsibilities they ought to assume for the sake of the party and the nation. In some instances the fault is their own. They have been passive and indifferent. In other instances such men and women have been kept outside the circles

of the party leadership—in the nation, in every State, in every county, in every city and town—be strengthened by the infusion of every element of vigorous capacity that can be found. And the finding and enlisting of these elements of vigorous capacity is the job of no one group but of the rank and file of the party. Every reader of THE AWAKENER who believes that the Republican Party has a vital mission to perform, and that upon its success depends the well-being of the nation, has a definite responsibility. It is his or her job to see that latent capacity for leadership in his or her locality is brought to the front and enlisted.

Next to unity, the great need of the party is audacious courage. In a large sense, unity and audacious courage are too interdependent for separation except for literary convenience. The party cannot be united upon the basis of any program that is less than audaciously courageous. And it cannot be audaciously courageous if it is not united. In the face of a challenging crisis, courage always integrates and unites, while cowardice always disintegrates and divides.

It would be tragic if the leadership of the Republican Party were to be so lacking in vision and understanding as to attempt to straddle or dodge a single vital issue. The party campaign can only fail if it is based upon anything short of aggressive and relentless opposition to the whole Rooseveltian New Deal, both as to its specific measures and its trends and aims.

There must be no soft-pedalling in consideration of political nerves, vulnerable records or brittle reputations; no catering to selfish and anti-social group interests in cautious calculation of electoral balances here or there. Nor will it do to frame the platform of the party and plan its campaign within the limitations of a defensive apologia for past blunderings.

The crisis calls for a campaign that will challenge the heart and brain of every thoughtful American, and of every decent American. The challenge must be too violent to permit indecision and vacillation. It must compel all men and women to take sides. It will not do to blast the New Deal in Fall River, Massachusetts, and coddle it in Des Moines, Iowa. If the Republican Party is to succeed, it must command success by courage and forthrightness. Those who are disposed to flirt with the New Deal should be encouraged to do it under the Roosevelt banner.

The clearer the lines of battle are drawn, the stronger will be the appeal of the party. The sweetly reasonable, blow hot, blow cold type of mind has no rightful place in this struggle. Either the New Deal is fundamentally right and sound or it is fundamentally wrong and unsound. Either the Roosevelt policies have been justified by the results or they have not.

If the first of these alternatives is true, the Republican Party has nothing substantial upon which to base its appeal to the people. In that case, the policies themselves ought to be continued and no good reason exists for replacing Mr. Roosevelt by a Republican. If the second alternative is true, on the other hand, the sooner the policies

(Continued on page four)

as we consider clothing costs, we find again the effect of the AAA program, buried in a vastly increased cost of cotton goods. The recent report of the Cabinet Committee on the Cotton Textile Industry admitted that the processing tax on cotton has added 15 per cent to the cost of ordinary cotton goods. Retail prices paid for cotton goods by the consumers have shown increases as high as 50 per cent, after the customary mark-up at each stage of the manufacturing and distributive process. The average increased cost of all clothing under the New Deal, according to the estimate of Roger W. Babson, has been 22 per cent.

No study of living costs which overlooks the factor

(Continued on page four)

#### REFLECT THE NEW DEAL

## TAXES EXCEED EARNINGS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY

One of the unfortunate consequences of our haphazard system of taxation is that the average voter has only a remote concept of the actual magnitude of taxation in this country. He thinks exclusively in terms of his own tax problem. He attempts irresponsibly to shunt the burden onto some other body of citizens, and if successful, he congratulates himself that he has done a slick job of work. He fails to comprehend that paid taxes cannot be isolated in the public balance sheet, and that they are inescapably passed on in innumerable ways to distend the operating and living costs of every unit in our social order.

Perhaps the best way to envisage the enormous sum which politics is now mulcting from the American people, is to glance through the balance sheets of some of our typical large corporations. They indicate the fact, which has not hitherto been sufficiently grasped by the public at large, that the cut of the tax-gatherer in many businesses is now actually larger than the percentage of the gross which goes to the millions of stockholders.

A typical example is the Montgomery Ward Company. In its annual report, to its stockholders last month, President Sewell L. Avery reported the staggering fact that the tax burden of the company during the last year has risen to a figure double that of two years ago. Taxes paid to Federal, State and local agencies during the last six months approximated \$4,000,000. Net profits for the same period totalled only \$4,349,766.

The American Telegraph and Telephone Company, which has 675,000 individual stockholders, found last year that while its net earnings per share, for payment to these investors, were \$5.96, taxes consumed an amount aggregating \$1.78 per share.

In the utility field, it is a common experience to find taxes exceeding profits. The Consolidated Gas Company, with 96,000 shareholders, showed earnings last year of \$2.94 per share, but paid out in taxes \$3.55 per share.

The railroads, most of which are now hopelessly in the red, share the same experience. The New York Central, last year, reported a deficit of \$1.08 per share. It paid out in taxes, however, \$5.30 per share.

General Baird H. Markham, director of the American

(Continued on page four)

FOR  
THE AMERICANISM  
OF THE "RIGHT"

# THE AWAKENER

A NATIONAL ORGAN OF UNCENSORED OPINION

AGAINST  
THE SOCIALISM  
OF THE "LEFT"

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The More Abundant Life

## HIGH COST OF LIVING LOOMS AS 1936 ISSUE

Sharp Drop in Workers  
Purchasing Power May Decide Election

The possibility that the coming Presidential election will hinge, not upon the issue of socialism or the constitution, but upon the familiar issue of the high cost of living is beginning to impress political forecasters who are in close touch with the popular pulse.

Increasing signs of public restiveness under the steady rise of food and clothing costs are being reported from every part of the country. True, the protest, outside of a few big cities, Detroit, Chicago, New York, where Communists have been quick to exploit the discontent by forming "housewives unions," is still largely passive and inarticulate. Perhaps the most significant recent happening has been the resolution passed by the convention of the National Restaurant Association to boycott, wherever possible, foods which have been artificially raised in price by the AAA. However, if prices continue their perpendicular rise of the last few months, and all recognized business forecasters agree that the greatest rise is still ahead, resentment is certain to become explosive. It will unleash an indiscriminate condemnation of all the measures of the New Deal.

The most embarrassing food cost increase, from the Administration standpoint, is the present sky-rocketing of meat prices. In view of the Wallace policies in 1933 when 6,188,717 pigs and 222,149 sows were deliberately slaughtered, it is difficult to convince the consumer that his present prohibitive pork prices are not directly the result of an Administration blunder.

The extent of the retail price rise is seen in the published reports of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Thus, the index for the price of all meats in March, 1933, was 100.1. On September 10, 1935, it reached the figure of 163.9, or an average increase since the AAA went into effect of approximately 64 per cent. Pork prices, however, if considered separately, have risen 116 per cent.

Bread, which is the basis of the average American family meal, is another commodity which has been conspicuously affected by the AAA program. A rise under the New Deal of 26 per cent in average bread costs and 47 per cent in flour costs can be traced unmistakably to the AAA. Donald D. Davis, president of General Mills, recently estimated that the processing tax on wheat is equivalent to "a retail sales tax of from 14 to 20 per cent on all



By R. E. S.

Republican leaders are holding their fire on the AAA until after the Supreme Court Decision on the Hoosier Mills case which will be handed down during the present term of the Court. The President has made his position clear in his Fremont, Nebraska speech. He has declared that he regards agricultural parity, as attempted by the AAA, which was first urged as a mere emergency measure, as "an endowment principle." Should this "principle" be voided by the Supreme Court, as it is confidently expected that it will be, Mr. Roosevelt has only two choices before him—either to abandon the New Deal absolutely, or to press for a constitutional amendment which will permit planned Federal control of agriculture.

It is difficult to see how he could accept the first alternative, and expect victory in 1936. He must fight on for his New Deal, to paraphrase Mussolini, either with the Supreme Court, without the Supreme Court, or against the Supreme Court. The AAA is the actual heart of the whole New Deal; its abandonment would be a tacit admission that the Roosevelt policies have been nothing better than so much green goods. Accordingly, Republican leaders believe that the AAA decision will see a Roosevelt return to the "horse and buggy" theme which he attempted with such dismal consequences after the Schechter decision. He will urge a constitutional amendment which will be tantamount to the wiping out of the constitution as a bulwark of the private enterprise system.

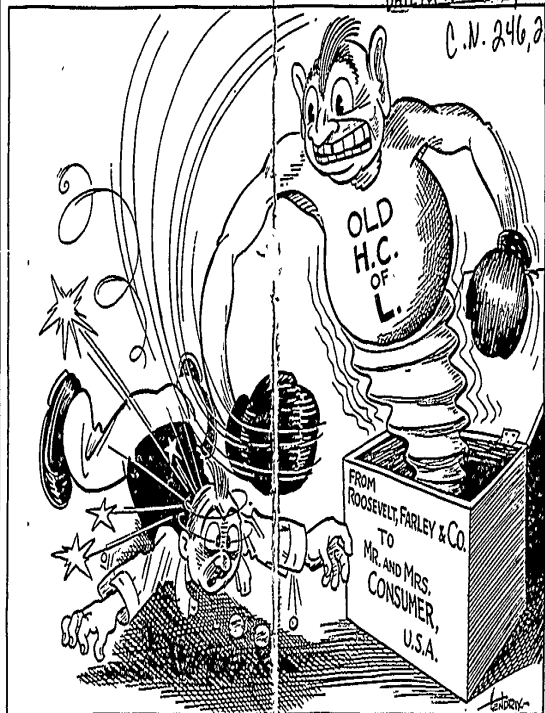
REPEAL THE NEW DEAL

Another break in the Democratic ranks is reported in Minnesota. A group of old-line Democrats have formed the "Constitutional Democrats of Minnesota" under the leadership of Zed H. Austin, who was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1936. They will initiate a vigorous campaign for anti-Roosevelt delegates from Minnesota in next year's Democratic convention. Also, they propose to encourage the formation of similar groups in other Northern States. This movement, together with Mr. John H. Kirby's "Southern Committee for Upholding the Constitution" is planning to get a head start in the difficult struggle to prevent the Roosevelt re-nomination. Incidentally, considerable interest will follow the 2nd New York Congressional contest next month to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Representative Brunner. Goldrey von Holtz has entered the race in opposition to the Progressive nominee as an anti-New Deal Democratic candidate. It will be a first test of the strength of anti-Roosevelt Democratic sentiment among New York City Democrats.

REPEAL THE NEW DEAL

A curious situation is developing in California which may result in an effort by Mr. Sinclair to instruct the Democratic delegation from that State to the next convention to vote against the President's re-nomination. Sinclair and his aids have made no attempt to conceal their bitter disappointment over Roosevelt's San Diego speech. They regard it as a definite closing of the door upon their "production for use" program which, according to Mr. Sinclair, the President promised to "come out for" in the famous interview at Hyde Park last year.

In an editorial in the current issue of Sinclair's *Epis News* appear these significant words: "There is no obligation on anyone to support Roosevelt in the Democratic National convention. On the contrary, it is not only the right but the duty of every party member to work for the nomination of the best man the party affords, and in doing so, to carry on a campaign of education in principles." This seems almost an avowal of the Sinclair intention to end the California vote in the next year.



## THE PATHWAY TO VICTORY

By JOHN SPARGO

The renaissance of the Republican Party is encouraging. It is the brightest and most inspiring fact in the political life of the civilized world as Anno Domini 1935 speeds toward its end. Not in these United States only, but universally thoughtful and earnest believers in and lovers of

of party influence and power through the very human reluctance of existing leaders to acknowledge that they have outlived their usefulness and should give place to more vigorous leaders.

No matter what the cause, the remedy alone is im-

## THE AWAKENER

A NATIONAL ORGAN OF UNCONCEALED OPINION

Edited by  
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### A Dynamic Republicanism

The viewpoint of Dr. Bemis in his article in this issue opens up a challenging field of inquiry. It is probably true, as he so well points out, that too little consideration has been given by Republican thinkers to the actual duty which would confront a Republican Administration in the event of victory in 1936. Viewed from any perspective, the reconstructive task looms before them, epochal and gigantesque in its immensity.

It has been the habit of many Republicans to conceive of party victory in terms of an easy slipping backward into an unfretted constitutional order. Those who have that concept regard the alterations which Mr. Roosevelt has introduced into our social system, as little more than an interruption to the settled rhythm of an unchanging American system. In this view, we have merely to return to the Constitution and the eggs will unscramble themselves with effortless certainty.

However, Dr. Bemis, as an historian, realizes that there are climactic moments in human history from which nations cannot easily retrace themselves. It is possible that Mr. Roosevelt's unhappy four years will go down in history as such a climax, from which America will emerge, changed and reintegrated. It may be that Republicanism cannot untie the Roosevelt Gordian knot, and that in the end it must slash the stubborn strands. If this hypothesis be correct, and there are many in the party, besides Dr. Bemis, who are of this opinion, then a merely static concept of the Republican program will be hopelessly inadequate. Republicanism cannot cut New Deal knots, if it forswears its weapons.

Stuart Chase in his revealing book, "Government in Business," which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, points out that the New Deal has taken the first step toward a collectivist society by establishing the precedent of "socializing the losses" in our economic system. "The power to socialize profits is an obvious corollary of the understanding to socialize losses," he writes. "Mechanism has

## WAKE UP! UNCLE SAM!



### Thin-Skinned Americans

It is regrettable that so many fair-minded, non-radical Americans fail to catch the essential point of the teachers' oath issue. In a zealous desire to be fair to the dissenter and the revolutionist, they allow themselves to drift into a foggy state of unfairness to Constitutional Americanism.

The Kirtley F. Mather case at Harvard is an arresting instance of an educator who has done the wrong thing for reasons which may perhaps be theoretically right. In his conscience, Dr. Mather is apparently convinced that his deft of the State Teachers' Oath Law was an act of vindication of the American Constitution. Actually, it was a pettish and immature gesture whose only effect will be to strengthen the Communist and subversive forces which are attempting to tear the Constitution down.

It is often argued by liberals that the requiring of a loyalty oath from teachers in the public schools is a superfluous and annoying folly, since the only teachers who are actually a patriotic problem—the Communists and Socialists—will cynically take the oath with their fingers crossed in order to remain in positions of propaganda, while the minority who will publicly and honestly defy the oath

influence of the psychological factor in shaping public opinion. The significance of the teachers' oath is not the oath itself, but the attitude of alert loyalty to the nation and its institutions which such a ritual denotes. National loyalty is an intangible and imponderable thing, woven of many strands of habit and ritual which have strown survival value through the ages.

Thus one waves or salutes a flag, not because the act itself produces an effect, but because it has been found through long experience that a nation of flag-saluters cherishes its political institutions more vigilantly than a nation which scorns such civic symbols. The man who sets himself apart, as does Dr. Mather, as the possessor of a civic wisdom or conscience, superior to the accepted wisdom of the nation as a whole, cannot be regarded as a trust-worthy citizen, however admirable his mental attainments. In patriotism as in physics, the whole is always greater than the sum of all its parts. An oath is a small sacrifice, indeed, to require of a person who protests his will to be a patriot.

Moreover, one cannot ignore the curious fact that practically all of the voices which have been raised in indignant opposition to the teachers' oath are voices which have also

## HIGHLIGHT AND LOWDOWN

By WILLIAM INGLES

Several fan letters from the west coast received during the past few weeks explain that F. D. R.'s apparent popularity as indicated by his rousing reception in Los Angeles was anything but what New Dealers attempted to infer. They insist that about one third of the population of the "city of the angels" are being supported by relief funds and they draw the conclusion that, because the number of participants in the demonstration fell far short of this figure, even a goodly portion of those "on the bottle" are far from satisfied. In this thought we are inclined to concur. The element who believe "the world owes them a living" have been encouraged by the social workers in high places to revise their opinion in this connection and today they are convinced that the government owes them not just a living but a good living at that.

### REFRAL THE NEW DEAL

And while we're on the subject of letters it seems that the President's "copy cat" letter to the nation's clergy has stirred up a hornet's nest of which the remarkable similarity between the White House missive and the La Follette message to Wisconsin men of the cloth is the least embarrassing aspect. So far not a single pastor has endorsed the New Deal in any particular, while Baptists and Methodists by the score have been extremely critical of Roosevelt's part in the return of Demon Rum. Rabble insist that diplomatic relations with the Hitler Government should have been severed. Catholics condemn divorce in high places and are chagrined because no Ambassador was appointed to the Vatican. Episcopal clergymen cite a failure to set a good example by regular church attendance, while Southern Baptists feel there are too many Catholics in high Administration posts.

### REFRAL THE NEW DEAL

"Here you are, My Friends! Stop right in and see a sight to delight your eyes and pep-up your passions—the only show on the midway approved by the President of the United States." So sang out an oily tongued Barker to the curious crowds which surged before the freak shows at the famous Danbury Fair. Over his head floated a gaudy sign which read: "Sins of Love and Gallery of the Nudes." Having heard so much about "letters from the president," none in the audience doubted his word. Over and over he mentioned his letter of endorsement and offered to display it to any who might be skeptical. His show did a land office business and in all probability he will continue to cash in until the White House secretariat discover that the letter was "sent in error." If a few more such incidents come to light, it seems probable that the Farley system of mass letter writing will soon be relegated to limbo.

### REFRAL THE NEW DEAL

Michigan citizens were treated to a pleasant but momentary surprise on October 9th when they saw a headline in their favorite newspaper which read:

### ROOSEVELT DEFEATED

But alas, it merely heralded the fact that one Herbert Roosevelt (nee Harry Rosenfeld) had been beaten in his race to win the nomination for constable in the primary election. This incident proves, however, that the Roosevelt name has lost its magic luster and that a Roosevelt can and will be beaten in 1936.

### REFRAL THE NEW DEAL

Of course there are still those who insist that you can't beat \$3,000,000,000. General Smootley Butler, as an example, told the Veterans of Foreign Wars at New Orleans that with a five billion dollar campaign fund he could elect a Chinaman to the Presidency. But the General isn't a very reliable fellow. He once told the country that there was no "red" menace and then proceeded to turn over to the Communists his confidential correspondence with the United States Secret Service. Later he spoke under Communist auspices and at the moment, he's writing a series of articles for the Socialist magazine *Common Sense*. For the efficiency of "reds," "pinks" and "liberals" of every shade and hue he is "exposing" the army, the navy, the militia and the police. Now, there's a virile patriot for you.



## Can the Republican Party Come Back?

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

## RECOVERY—THE MYTH OF THE PRESS AGENTS

By GEORGE C. WINSTON

THE increasing feebleness of the Republican attack in Congress is fast hastening a major political crisis. When 68 out of 117 Republican members of the House are so hopelessly bewildered that they join with the Democrats in voting for the infamous Gold Bill, crowning Henry Morgenthau, Jr., as America's financial dictator, it is evident that the old political order is very near to its end. Sometime before 1934 has passed into history, the Republican Party must face and answer the question whether or not it can endure.

For the malady which is now racking the Republicans is not merely the reaction from its 1932 defeat. Crushing and staggering though that disaster was, it could not have produced the utter demoralization which now grips the party. The Republican Party has been routed before, certainly more hopelessly in 1912, but it has lived to return from Elba. The tragedy of today's situation is that the Republicans of 1934, with a few notable and shining exceptions, have lost the will to return. Their tremors and inconstancy in the face of the supreme crisis of modern times is fast disintegrating what is left of a once indomitable party.

The tragedy of the situation, from the Republican viewpoint, is that the role of acquiescence now being played by many of the party leaders is not even good politics. Admitting that the present Roosevelt policies of distributing the treasury to the electorate will prolong the period of excessive Democratic popularity until the Government credit eventually crashes, it is difficult to understand how Republican strategists can expect gain for their party by identifying themselves with the quackeries. Conceivably, here and there a Republican office-holder may find an individual opportunity to pick crumbs from the Democratic table. But when, in the long story of American politics, did a party ever achieve a national come-back by a policy of crumb picking?

The most casual survey of the political events of the last year will reveal the utterable absurdity of a pro-Roosevelt Republican policy. In 1932, in the shadow of the stupendous Roosevelt victory, Republican leaders might have been pardoned for feeling disconsolate. Not only had they lost the Congress and the Presidency; they were also without a potential issue around which they could unite for their long struggle to come back. There was nothing to indicate then that Mr. Roosevelt was contemplating an unauthorized and unwanted social revolution. It seemed probable that he would be the same kind of President that he had been Governor—cautious, sure-footed and difficult to commit. In such a case, it might be years before he would give his Republican opponents an issue which they could dramatize against him. So it seemed in the final enigmatic weeks of 1932.

From the perspective of today, we realize how absurdly they miscalculated the future. Before a vote had

sion had saved America. Or, to take a more recent instance, the cry of disloyalty against Senator Lodge and his associates when they uncompromisingly opposed the Wilson attempt to bind us to the League of Nations in 1919, was silenced by the crushing Republican national victory when they went before the voters in 1920. No political party has ever climbed to victory which was so unsure of its own rightness that it was unwilling to wager its future upon a defense of its ideals.

The second paralyzing influence in the Republican Party has been its hopeless but continued effort to hold the "Progressives" in the party. Looking back from this perspective upon the past decade the long party attempt to coddle and conciliate the "Progressives" appears now as the major mistake of Republican strategy. It will be recalled that in 1923, an attempt was made to meet this issue frankly by the Republican National Committee. The attempt was abandoned in the face of the cry of party harmony. The consequences have been fatal. Throughout the Hoover Administration, the Republican Party bore all the onus of responsibility in the supreme crisis of our times with a Senate majority which was not, at any time, an actual majority. The attempt to meet the impossible demands of the "Progressives" demoralized the conservative elements of the party without even assuring the loyalty of the "Progressives" in the 1932 Presidential fight. Today, the Republican Party, now in a hopeless minority, is still avoiding clean-cut political decisions for fear of the loss of a faction which has already deserted them. Indeed, many political experts believe that had the Republican Party made a present of its "Progressives" to the Democrats ten years ago, they would by this time have destroyed the Democratic Party just as their continuance in official Republican ranks is now destroying the Republicans.

### NO ADVANTAGE IN LEFT POSITION

It is true that many party leaders believe sincerely that the present drift of the country toward the "Left" necessitates an orientation of the Party nearer to the position of the "Progressives." Leaving aside the question of the impermanence and social danger of the present drift, it should seem obvious that there is no future for the Republicans in such an orientation. Can anyone believe soberly that voters who have already been converted to a belief in the New Deal, will express that belief by voting Republican, rather than by voting directly for the party which has fathered it? Can we believe that the acolytes of Professor Tugwell or of Father Coughlin will register their zeal for Mr. Roosevelt by voting the Republican ticket?

On the other hand, by assuming an ambiguous position, the Republicans lose the extraordinary opportunity which is now before them to unite with themselves the immense number of Democrats who are unalterably opposed to the Roosevelt policies. It is no exaggeration to say that, conceding all of the new converts which have been made by Administration use of the radio and news

There has been so much backslapping and general tribulation in the press during the last few weeks concerning the alleged success of the New Deal recovery program that it may seem cruel to ask the rejoicers to "look at the record." However, at the risk of seeming out of tune in the chorus, economic honesty impels us to question where the recovery is to be found. Certainly, apart from the wishful thinking which is inevitable in such times, a false optimism among our citizens would be the gravest disservice to the country in this crisis. It would lull us into the belief that fundamental adjustments had been made which, so far, have not even been attempted.

When we examine the actual national situation today, after 11 months of Brain Trust tinkering, we are struck by the alarming fact that substantially all the visible recovery has been paid for out of the Treasury of the United States Government. It is the boy's finger in the economic dike. The breach is still there, ready to widen and to flood when once the finger is withdrawn.

When the present Administration came into office, a little less than a year ago, two alternatives presented themselves. On the one hand, the Administration could undertake the hard task of attempting to accomplish a permanent and fundamental recovery. In the mood of 1933, such a program, necessarily slow and unspectacular in character, would have been politically unpopular among a people who were crying for a man on horseback. An Administration which chose this difficult and rocky road could have expected temporary unpopularity and misunderstanding such as had been suffered before it by its predecessor. But in the end, the recovery which would have come would have been a lasting, sound recovery such as rewarded the patience of the American people after the equally devastating panics of 1893, 1897 and 1907.

The other alternative was to follow the easy path of patching up and disguising the depression by creating a spurious recovery through the unrestrained squandering of the Federal Treasury. Such a course of action would, of course, confer extreme and immediate popularity upon an Administration which adopted it—a popularity which would endure as long as the credit of the Government permitted the continuance of the expenditures. But the price of the temporary relief would be such a derangement of our economic order that in the end, when the experiment collapsed, American capitalism might quite conceivably go down with it into the debris. Unfortunately, it was this easy but fatal economic pathway which the present Administration chose to follow when it entered office, March the 4th last.

As these words are written, the Administration is still riding the crest of its all too brief reign of popularity. With an indiscriminate generosity it unlocked the sluice gates of the treasury to every corner. It stilled the revolt of the

However, economists of the pre-Rooseveltian era have long had certain accepted yardsticks by which business health could be measured. The question of the fact or fancy of the present alleged recovery need not be left to speculation. The economic indices tell the story.

The most inescapable gauge of the condition of business is the fluctuation of new capital investment. Obviously, there can be no increase in regular business and no permanent relief of unemployment if no new money is flowing into industry to finance production programs. In normal years, a total of no less than four to five billions of new capital flows into industry by natural economic attraction. In 1929, the boom year, new capital investment in corporate issues exceeded ten billions. In 1932, this had shrunk to 643 millions.

Now the test of whether we have experienced any actual recovery in 1933 under the New Deal hinges upon whether 1933 evidenced an increase of new capital investment over Mr. Hoover's black year of 1932. The end of the year figures are now in. They demonstrate with alarming positiveness the hollowness of the New Deal claims. For instead of increasing, new corporate capital investment for 1933 actually declined to \$381,583,656—a loss of 40 per cent as compared with 1932. Industry, instead of reviving, has become even more prostrate.

The second test which has been found unfulfilling in previous appraisals of business health is new construction. In former depressions, the resumption of normal building construction has been the harbinger of general recovery. Accumulated building needs suddenly break the business deadlock and transmit a quickening impulse all down the line.

The F. W. Dodge figures, now before us, reveal the fact that with all the vast pouring out of public funds for the P.W.A. projects, new construction actually declined in 1933, as compared with 1932. If we deduct the public works and utility items from the total, we find an actual reduction of 14 per cent in the new private construction for the year. The figures follow:

CONSTRUCTION	
1933	1932
Total new .....	\$1,255,708,400 \$1,351,138,700 Loss \$95,430,300
Public works & utilities	602,722,600 590,301,201 Gain 12,421,499
Actual new private....	652,985,800 760,836,499 Loss 107,850,699

A third index of business health which has long been accepted as convincing are freight car loadings. Such loadings indicate, perhaps more accurately than any other current gauge, the physical volume of business. We have been greeted at intervals throughout the New Deal period with enthusiastic reports of increased car loadings. Such publicity has been based upon specific weeks which have been selected for emphasis when they showed improvement. Of course, the only actual basis for comparison would be

passed, the new President had committed the country to a social experiment so sweeping that it shattered every political equation. More, it gave the Republican Party its greatest fighting issue since slavery—the issue of socialism. It put in their hands a great moral cause which, if courageously maintained, might easily assure Republican victory in the campaign of 1936.

#### NEW ISSUES FOR REPUBLICANS

Nor did the Democratic Party, in its long-range blindness, halt with this first mistake. Deceived by the momentary popularity which the first revolutionary measures brought them, the New Deal leaders proceeded to present the Republican Party with a second issue, as viable as the first. This was the issue of sound money. American politics has repeatedly demonstrated that the issue of sound money, alone, is adequate to assure the return to power of a defeated political party, and its continuance in power over a span of several administrations. What then could be said of the strategic situation of a Republican Party which, in the first year of its opponent's rule was handed not only the issue of sound money, but the nation-stirring issue of the defense of America against a Socialist revolution?

Have the generality of Republican leaders given any indication of their comprehension of the immensity of their opportunity? Unfortunately for themselves, they have not. Chairman Sanders of the Republican National Committee has courageously and ably voiced the Republican challenge to the New Deal, at the cost of almost as much criticism from Republicans as from Democrats. Senator Dickinson, Senator Robinson, Senator Hatfield, Senator Vandenberg, Senator Patterson, and a brave little band of unshaken Republicans in the House under the leadership of Representative Snell, have endeavored to hold the Republican sector in Washington, with little or no cooperation from many of their supposed party colleagues. Worse, they have contemplated, only too often, the embittering spectacle of members of their own party rising on the floor to join the New Deal chorus.

What is the explanation of this amazing Republican palsy in the face of a supreme party opportunity?

The first explanation which seems obvious is the fact that many of the Republicans in Congress do not actually believe in their own Republicanism. To one who sincerely believes in the economic and political concepts which the Republican Party has always championed, it would be unthinkable that the New Deal policies could work. If that be true, then the last policy which an astute Republican would follow would be to identify himself with a program which was foredoomed to failure. While he might temporarily doom himself to unpopularity by opposing it, he would have the assurance that his return to public confidence would be correspondingly overwhelming, when the collapse of the New Deal revealed that he had been right. Thus, the unpopularity of President Lincoln in the early months of his Administration turned to national reverence when it was demonstrated that his opposition to seces-

during the last 11 months, the membership of both of our major political parties is overwhelmingly conservative and against Socialism. If Mr. Roosevelt does not extricate himself from the Socialist net which now surrounds him in time to save the country from another collapse, the majority of the conservative Democratic elements must inevitably join with a conservative Republican Party in a coalition against Socialism. It depends upon the wisdom of the Republican high command whether or not they will create the setting for such a development. If they allow their policies to be controlled by their fear of losing Senator Norris or Senator Hiram Johnson, they will certainly forfeit the opportunity of winning the cooperation of the followers of Senator Glass or of former Governor Smith.

Certainly, there is nothing to be gained by Republicans from the followers of the "Left." The future of the Republican Party, if it has a future, is as the party of the "Right." Certainly, in times such as these, when conservative America is being rushed into the fatal vortex of Socialism or dictatorship, patriotism, as well as self-interest, demands that the Republicans become an opposition party. They may be called disloyal or unconstructive by the Johnsons and the Raineys, but no policy is more supremely constructive than the policy which inspires brave men to stand against an indefensible wrong. If the Republicans miss their opportunity, then, as Mr. Blythe has so searchingly pointed out, they will perish, as the weary Whigs perished before them, to be succeeded by a young and vital party which will have the audacity to stop the Socialists.

#### THE NEW DEAL—IS IT NEW?

By DR. KENNETH SCOTT

One of the most lamentable features of the "New Deal" is the fact that there is little new about it, for with the dawn of trustworthy written records in Ancient Greece, the cry of "cancellation of debts and redistribution of wealth" was ringing in men's ears and has plagued the world ever since. These two proposals were the stock in trade of Greek demagogues, of Solon of Athens in 594 B.C., Agathocles of Syracuse in the fourth century, Agis and Cleomenes of Sparta, and Nabis of Argos in the third.

In Rome, too, agitation for cancellation of debts appears, and almost as early as the foundation of the city, *tabulae novae*, "new accounts", were sought by the debtor class. The Roman *tabulae novae* is in essence a "new deal", but the Romans had a phrase which even more accurately translates our "New Deal": it is the term *res novae*, "new things", a "new deal", which we usually designate by the more accurate and ugly term "revolution". Indeed one of the most notorious attempts at a "new deal" in Rome was that of the revolutionary Cato in 63 B.C., whose first and most numerous class of followers were composed, according to Cicero, of those who were overwhelmed by debt and sought cancellation thereof in revolt.

Doubtless history will characterize the radical program of "debt cancellation" and "redistribution of wealth" in the 20th century in the same terms with which it has de-

scribed the old "new deals" of antiquity: Isocrates (436-338 B.C.) calls these two devices "pernicious evils"; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who died at Rome in 71 B.C., refers to them as "the two greatest evils of the acts of government among men"; Dio Chrysostom, born about 50 A.D., says that "these two things called for the greatest precaution in the law, and execration and the supreme penalties if anyone should propose them"; while Livy, the great Roman historian of the Augustan age, designates them as "two firebrands for inflaming the lower classes against the wealthy".

Today, with a budget which has already reached the incredible figure of ten billions, and still mounting, with the American dollar sinking downward to a point which will wipe out half of the fixed capital of the country, with every fundamental problem of a year ago still unsolved, while new and even graver problems have been added to the picture as a result of the follies of the year, with economic quacks of every school occupying the responsible offices in Washington, one would have to be an almost Podsnapian optimist to feel, with the Washington clique, that we are witnessing recovery.

Can such "new deals" succeed? Polybius (204-122 B.C.), the great Greek writer on the Roman constitution, gives comments as sound today as when they were written two thousand years ago: "Men," he writes, "though they have heard that some states have been utterly destroyed by the means I have described, and though they see ruin overtaking others, nevertheless, whenever anyone courts favor with them and hold out to them the hope of repairing their fortunes by laying hands on those of their neighbors, approach the snare without a moment's reflection, though quite aware that of those who have swallowed such baits not a single one has ever been saved, but that measures like the above are well known to have brought destruction on all governments which have adopted them." The "New Deal" is neither "new" nor an experiment nor is its outcome uncertain. The tragedy of it all is that, in the words of Hegel "we learn from history that no one learns anything from history."

Considerable stress has been placed by New Deal press agents upon the fact that, while figures for the year may be unfavorable, there is a present recovery which is indicated only by the most recent figures. Unfortunately, the latest figures are distastefully depressing. The increase of business since the first of the year is not shown in the nation's bank clearings which for the first week of the year (ending January 6th) showed a decline of 4.7 per cent over the 1933 total, nor for the second week (ending, January 13th) which showed a decline of 6.5 per cent over 1933.

the annual total.

The figure for the year, now reported by the American Railway Association, shows an increase of 1933 over 1932 of only 2.8 per cent. However, lest the reader leap into the conclusion that such an increase indicates an approach to normality, it is interesting to note that the 1933 figure represents a decrease, as compared with the depressed year of 1931, of 22 per cent.

#### Freight Car Loadings for 12 Months

1933 .....	26,960,910
1932 .....	26,179,952
1931 .....	35,151,249

The fourth and last index which is generally accepted as basic is the figure for bank clearings. Using the Federal Reserve figures, we find that bank clearings for 1933 actually declined 5.9 per cent from the 1932 figure.

#### Bank Clearings—12 Federal Reserve Districts

1933 .....	\$241,454,844,300
1932 .....	256,634,294,429

To indicate how deep we are still sunk in the depression, it is only necessary to recall that in 1929, the figure was above 726 billions.

Considerable stress has been placed by New Deal press agents upon the fact that, while figures for the year may be unfavorable, there is a present recovery which is indicated only by the most recent figures. Unfortunately, the latest figures are distastefully depressing. The increase of business since the first of the year is not shown in the nation's bank clearings which for the first week of the year (ending January 6th) showed a decline of 4.7 per cent over the 1933 total, nor for the second week (ending, January 13th) which showed a decline of 6.5 per cent over 1933.

From the foregoing, it is painfully evident that all the storm and fury of the New Deal year, instead of producing recovery, has not even prevented us from losing economic ground, as indicated by the four standard indexes of business well-being. We have followed the Brain Trust into regimentation, budget unbalancing and monetary debasement. We have thrown down our most vital political bulwarks against Socialist revolution in a desperate attempt to recover. We have clothed our President and our Secretary of Treasury with the incredible powers of dictatorship. The net result of our abject surrender to the social planners is that, at the end of their first year, they have reduced American business to a lower status than it held even in the last year of the much-pilloried Mr. Hoover.

And while American business has receded under the New Deal, we behold the spectacle of foreign nations which have persisted with their traditional capitalistic institutions while we were experimenting, showing healthy recovery throughout the world during the same year. These are unpalatable facts to a people who have been fed with the publicity opium which has flowed from the pens of General Johnson and of Mr. Ickes, but it is high time that the American public face the truth. The New Deal has not brought recovery; its uncertainties and its unsound experi-

(Continued on page four)

## BOOKS WHICH INTEREST US

## IS OURS AN AGE OF CLASS POLITICS?

THE NEW PARTY POLITICS—By A. N. Holcombe—W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 148 pp., \$1.75.

Professor Holcombe begins with the premise that in the age we are now entering, class interests and conflicts will supply the key to our politics. He then proceeds to an elaborate and diverting analysis of the classes which presumably compose our social order. He concludes with a plea for middle class domination as assuring the hope of the most reasonable and stable form of government.

If one can accept the premise, then his conclusions march irresistibly onward to the solution which he champions. Unhappily, one cannot accept his keystone assumption without grave reservations.

There is first the disquieting vagueness concerning the measuring rod which Professor Holcombe would use to differentiate his classes. He refers alternately to the definition of classes as given by Nikolai Bukharin in his "Historical Materialism" and to the quite different tabulation of classes which was made by Theodor Geiger in "The Social Classes of the German People." He admits that in the United States, class definition must be largely a matter of guesswork owing to the inexactitude of our Census methods. But he then avoids the whole difficulty which he has suggested, by announcing his own allegiance to the view, point of Aristotle, whom he quotes as holding that the middle class is mainly a state of the mind. And yet, since Professor Holcombe's whole thesis rests upon his assumption that population shifts have now transferred the political dominance of America from the rural to the urban population, his accuracy in defining the classes which, in his view, control urban politics, must determine the value of his whole study. If classes result from states of mind, then the problem passes from politics to psychology, and takes on an uncertainty too inchoate for political rule-making.

Perhaps the best part of his work is its analysis of the class backgrounds of Communism and of Fascism. He emphasizes, what is so often overlooked, that Lenin altered the orthodox Marxian program by achieving a revolution based upon will and not upon class interest. He envisages the future urban politics as being perhaps dominated by an irreconcilable conflict between Fascism and Communism.

But unfortunately, he then abandons logic to deliver himself of the statement that Fascism is an organization of the "upper classes" against the "lower classes." From this he moves to the easy conclusion that there is a middle class, apart from Fascism, which can be organized against it. Of course, such a conclusion flies in the face of all recognized opinion concerning the essentially middle class character of Fascism both in Italy and Germany, to the extent that it has class character at all. The reader is further confused by a change in terminology, for in his chapter on Fascism, Professor Holcombe speaks repeatedly of the Fascists as being the party of the bourgeois, while later in the book he drops this classification to speak of the middle class. But who are the upper classes whom Fascism

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN  
FLAYS BRAIN TRUST

The debate in Congress on January 11th when the gag rule was adopted to expedite New Deal legislation was enlivened by the spirited attack by Representative John H. Hoepfel of California, Democrat, who put to shame many of his Republican colleagues by the forcefulness of his assertions. His speech follows:

"Mr. Speaker, about a year ago events occurred in Germany which we are endeavoring to duplicate here today. We are trying to Hitlerize the American Congress. [Applause.]

I am opposed to the gag rule, I am opposed to the leadership on my side of the House that denies the membership the right to speak in reference to the rules unless they know that the man is manacled and bound like a serf or slave. [Applause.]

What right have we as Representatives to come here to represent our constituents when our own leadership holds us in subjection and will not permit us to speak in accordance with the wishes of our constituents? That is not what our party stands for, and I resent it.

I call attention to another feature. You are denying to our Federal employees a just restoration of wages. Yet "Crack-Down Windy" Johnson favored his stenographer and raised her pay from \$100 a month to \$300 a month. That is what "Crack-Down" did. Every one of these patronage departments which we created in the last session is filled to overflowing with surplus men, men who are receiving large salaries, many whom I personally knew to be incompetent, but they probably supported the party and must be paid fabulous salaries at the expense of the regular civil-service employee.

Our President asks us now to withhold from the Federal employees the just wage to which they are entitled. I wrote to the President and I also wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury and stated that by the failure to refund the \$623,000,000 of liberty loans we are actually paying more into the hands of the American bankers than we are proposing to restore here to the Federal employees.

Not only that, but the President yesterday requested validation of the principle of additional billions of tax-exempt bonds under the Federal Land Act, thus adding to the farmer's burden while he creates smiles for the coupon clippers of Wall Street. Every man who votes for this rule, from my point of view, is voting to cast himself into slavery. We might just as well go home and turn the entire operation of the Congress over to the "brain trust." I believe that it would be more economical to do so. [Applause.]

ANOTHER SOCIALIST GETS  
NEW DEAL JOB

Announcement was made this week of the appointment of Karl Borders of Chicago as Field Research Director of the Federal Relief Administration.

Borders is well known in radical circles as an active member of the Socialist Party. Up to the time of his appointment to Mr. Hopkins' staff, he held the office of Midwest Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, better known under its original name of Inter-

## MEN AROUND ROOSEVELT

(3) Donald R. Richberg

Of all the miracle-men who are now performing upon the New Deal slack wire in Washington, possibly the most miraculous of all is Mr. Donald R. Richberg. For Mr. Richberg's sudden emergence into national fame is not alone the revelation of a master prestidigitator. It is also the solution of one of the unsolved mysteries of recent American history.

For the last twenty-five years, shrewd political observers have dimly suspected that an unknown hand was guiding the larger decisions of American policy. As secondary national figures such as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson or Robert M. La Follette astounded the natives at times with sudden and unexpectedly brilliant turns of policy, sophisticates have asked themselves the question, where were these men getting their stuff? Might it not be possible that some master mind was in the prompting box giving them their cues?

But in this New Deal year, as President Roosevelt proudly took the blankets off from Mr. Richberg, it was finally revealed with dazzling clarity that here, indeed, was the answer. The master mind had at last stepped out of incognito. It was Mr. Richberg.

Out in the open at last, Mr. Richberg's contemporary feats have been truly prodigious. From his vast brain, aided to a minor degree by the headline-grabbing Johnson, has flowed the momentous scheme of the N.R.A. But Mr. Richberg has looked beyond the N.R.A. He has contemplated enviously the successes of such ordinary men as Stalin and Mussolini and Hitler, and he has foreseen a day when America will also need a strong hand to sweep away the putters. And what hand could be stronger in such a crisis, muses Mr. Richberg, than the hand which, for a generation, has been guiding the great in the paths which they have trodden.

Of course, it is all our own fault that the true stature of Mr. Richberg has burst so suddenly and so dazzlingly upon us. We could have read it all, had we only known, in his autobiography, "The Tents of the Mighty", which the great man thoughtfully published three years ago. As we turn these pages today, when the whole nation at last is in on the secret, it indeed amazes us that we had so long missed this obvious key to our times.

We finger the pages rapidly to find an arresting historic clue in almost every chapter. Thus, on page 46, we see Theodore Roosevelt copying the Richberg ideas in an Outlook article. On page 44 Roosevelt submits a letter to Richberg asking "Is that all right? If it isn't, you write it over?" On page 73, Raymond Robins finds it necessary to ask Mr. Richberg to write the keynote speech for him

which he is to deliver as chairman of the Bull Moose National Convention.

On page 74, it is naturally Mr. Richberg who, clear-eyed, foresees the Hughes rebuff in California which gave Wilson the Presidency. In fact, he foresees it before it even happens and he gives us a touching picture of Chairman Wilcox of the Republican National Committee crying futilely, "What can I do?" when the impressive Mr. Richberg invaded his office to tell him all about it. On page 82, we find Wilson copying one of Richberg's phrases in his 1919 Presidential message. We had long wondered how Wilson could have been so brilliant in that particular message.

As the years pass, spies begin to follow Mr. Richberg's footsteps everywhere and "it was confidently expected that I would be rubbed out." On page 135, the elder La Follette calls him to Washington to help lay down the lines of his 1924 campaign for the Presidency. Alas, Mr. La Follette did not follow the Richberg prompting and it is now history that he went down to a desolating defeat.

Did space permit, we could continue with similar tidbits from "The Tents of the Mighty". But the foregoing must be enough to indicate the historical value of this overlooked key to the events which have produced a New Deal Commissar.

It is reassuring to learn, however, that fate, by a sort of poetic justice, has spared Mr. Richberg from the economic depths which have harassed so many of his less gifted contemporaries. He has always received gratifying fees for his legal struggles for the underdog. Indeed the Chicago Tribune was so unkind as to report recently that the city of Chicago paid a total of \$682,000 as the expenses of the litigation which Mr. Richberg conducted in the gas rate case over a period of years, of which \$133,199 went to Mr. Richberg personally in fees. However, remembering Ed Howe's well-known wheeze, that he had never met a reformer who did not expect to make a living at it, it would be unkind to single out Mr. Richberg for censure. The laborer is worthy of his hire, and on cold nights, when the howling wind of depression whistles about the chimney-pots of 1934 America, it is soiling to know that Uncle Sam has upon his payroll in this crisis, a lightning-gaited legal mind which drew salary for 14 years from the city of Chicago before it completed its prosecution of the gas rate case. In 14 years, what can Mr. Richberg not do for our Federal Government? Perhaps he can even end the depression. But with this final intriguing thought we must conclude our broadcast, referring the listener for further Richbergalia to the pages of "The Tents of the Mighty".

## Editorial—(Continued)

tics, we urge that Congress take immediate steps to forbid the carrying out of the Perkins policy. We want no anti-Semitism in America. The men and women who are provoking it are the Wises, the Holmeyses, and the Thomases.

of sym-metallic currency in addition to the \$5 billion we now have. The answer to these proposals is that we do not need these measures to increase our volume of spending money. We could effect just as great an increase in money by restoring the volume of bank deposits to its 1929 size. And we could do that by restoring confidence for new in-

serves, apart from the middle class? Our author does not specify.

In justice to Professor Holcombe, it should be said that he offers his stimulating little book only as an introduction to a vast and hitherto unexplored field. Until he falls into the error of advancing his own middle class party theories, he has given us an excellent study of the class factor in politics. Unquestionably his book is the forerunner of much significant writing on this baffling political question.

#### WHO PAYS THE BILL?

(Continued from page one)

gering sum of fifty billion dollars! How much less costly would it have been, we may now perceive, for these policy holders to have assessed themselves the four billions to be given as a free gift rather than to have lost fifty billions in an experiment which yielded four.

But the 65 million holders of life insurance are not the only losers under this brilliant project. Other sufferers will be:

- (1) The 43,000,000 owners of savings bank deposits.
- (2) The 10,000,000 members of building and loan associations.
- (3) The holders of 36 billion dollars of farm and urban mortgages. 25 per cent of the farm mortgages are owned by insurance companies and 14 per cent by farmers themselves. Building and loan associations hold seven billion, two hundred millions of the total amount; insurance companies, five billion, 140 millions; and mutual savings banks five billion, 850 millions.

But perhaps the most piteous class of all who pay the bill for Mr. Roosevelt's experimentation are the widows, the pensioners, the retired men and women who have toiled a life time to enjoy the reward of comfort in the all too brief years of their old age. These unfortunates, incapable of a return to money-making, find half of their bread and shelter filched irretrievably from them because of the clever schemings of Mr. Roosevelt's brain trust.

Another class of acute sufferers from the monetary policy are the colleges, hospitals, and endowed institutions which are dependent upon fixed incomes from bond holdings whose coupons will now purchase only fifty per cent as much as in pre-New Deal days. It is estimated that a total of \$9,294,000,000 is in the endowments of our benevolent institutions.

Thus a candid study of the realities discloses that it is not the Wall Street looters, it is ourselves who must pay the price of Mr. Morganthau's miraculous four billions. Let us hope that when the American people awake to an understanding of the fraud perpetrated upon them, it will not be too late to save America from the deluge.

#### RECOVERY—MYTH—(continued)

ments have actually retarded in America a recovery tide which, during 1933, has set in throughout the world. The time is soon coming when the American people will awake to a recognition of the colossal mistake which they made in intrusting power to men whose minds are obsessed with social revolution.

collegiate Socialist Society. His appointment adds another name to the rapidly growing list of avowed Socialists who have been honored by this Administration.

#### DEBUNKING FATHER COUGHLIN

(Continued from page one)

Now that President Roosevelt proposes to devalue the dollar to 60% of the pre-Roosevelt parity, the bankers can assert no right to stop the government from taking half of our monetary gold stock as a so-called profit on devaluation. The gold has never belonged to the bankers. It has only been held and used by the Federal Reserve System, a quasi-public institution, to operate our money and international exchange system. As for the bankers contracting credit, it is obvious that bankers prefer the profits of credit expansion to the losses of deflation. If they contract credit, it is because they have no other alternative. An expectation of a return is needed to justify any increase in bank credit.

Father Coughlin is doubtless right about most of us not having enough money, especially in the form of income payments. But he is fantastic in his idea that increasing the quantity of money by 25 billion dollars of currency will right our evil of insufficient money income. The way to get a larger money income is to increase production, consumption and capital investment expenditures. For such increase in any conceivable amount, we have adequate currency in circulation and bank deposits. We need a swifter, and better directed flow of such money as we have. Creating five times as much new currency as we now have will not insure a swifter and better directed flow of money in the channels of investment and trade. The best single measure to improve the flow of money would be a restoration of public confidence in our money and credit such as would inspire new capital investment. Monetary proposals such as those of Father Coughlin only paralyze new investment and encourage the hoarding of money.

Father Coughlin has proposed a sym-metallic currency composed of a unit, 25% of the weight of which would be gold at \$41.34 an ounce and 75% of the weight of which would be silver at \$1 an ounce instead of the present market price of around 44 cents. This new unit would permit of three times as much credit expansion as is now legally possible, keeping the same gold ratio we now prescribe for deposits. The fact, however, is that during our heaviest inflation in 1929, we had, as today, over \$4 billions of gold. With this gold we supported \$50 billions of bank deposit credit and could have supported \$108 billions. We have as much gold today and though we have less than \$40 billion of bank money our gold supply would support, at the old parity, \$108 billions of credit. The reason we have credit contraction is not a lack of gold to sustain such an amount of credit as we had in 1929 but a lack of commercial incentive, or prospect of profit, to justify that amount of credit. Every time Father Coughlin opens his mouth and Mr. Roosevelt makes a new monetary move, there is less commercial incentive for new investment.

Father Coughlin would pay of \$10 billion of government bonds with paper money; spend \$5 billion of paper money on new public works and put out another \$5 billion

vestment. If we bought all the 8,800,000,000 ounces of silver in the world at \$1 an ounce, instead of the present price of 44 cents, we should only increase our money volume by less than \$9 billion. And if we bought all the gold outside of America at twice the old price we should only put out about another \$3 billion. Both proposals are, of course, practically unrealizable.

But suppose they were, and they exceed by far the proposals of Father Coughlin, we should only erect a \$16 billion inflation, which would not restore our purchasing power to the 1929 level. The point is that such crazy manipulations with the world prices of gold and silver as Professor Warren and Father Coughlin propose are not necessary in order to increase the volume of money or the velocity of its circulation. With a sound pre-Roosevelt currency, we can have twice as much money as we have today and four times as much as we should have if we put out paper money for all the gold and silver in the world at twice 1932 prices of gold and silver.

No sensible person is opposed to an expansion of credit for investment or to correspond to an increase in real capital having exchange value in a free market. What sensible people oppose in Father Coughlin and Professor Warren is an attempt to create an expansion of paper money to correspond to a fictitious revaluation of gold and silver. The reasons for this opposition are: 1. This type of inflation destroys confidence in money and investment values by creating a rubber, bologna or unstable dollar; 2. It favors principally owners and miners of gold and silver by paying them a premium for commodities, gold and silver, of which we have already an abundance for any conceivable amount of credit expansion; 3. This type of inflation will ruin millions of people having savings in bonds, mortgages, insurance companies and savings banks while, at the same time, it will transfer their wealth to others who will make millions profiteering on the price changes to be produced by government operations in gold and silver; 4. The monetary policies of Professor Warren and Father Coughlin make of Uncle Sam a speculative trader or gambler in gold and silver, the stakes being the honor, welfare and safety of our nation.

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who are endeavoring to use the Jewish people as cats-paws for the aggrandizement of their own socialist objectives.

#### Another Ill-Advised Amendment

We were deeply pleased to receive from our old fellow St. Louisan Mr. Sterling E. Edmonds, the news that he has assumed the directorship of a National Committee to oppose the proposed Child Labor Amendment. We would be the last to put obstacles in the pathway of those who are sincerely attempting to end child labor. Unfortunately, the method of endeavoring to force a constitutional amendment is a singularly inept way of serving the child protection cause.

As President Butler recently pointed out, it is a repetition of the blunders of the 18th Amendment which would pervert the Constitution into a grotesque instrument of unworkable social legislation. It is interesting to note that the agitators who are pressing the so-called Child Labor Amendment come from the same socialist group which is now working such havoc in other governmental policies at Washington. Mr. Edmonds and his associates have our best wishes in their work of national enlightenment on this un-American scheme.

#### Borah Blasts NRA Policies

It is heartening to hear the voice of Senator Borah in the current storm which has arisen against the N.R.A. policies. Probably no other conspicuous figure in American public life is more free from suspicion of political motives than William E. Borah. That such a life-time Liberal finds himself constrained to protest against the usurpations which are being practiced in the name of "Liberalism" is impressively significant. He says:

"Just so certain as the National Industrial Recovery Act continues to be executed as it is now being executed, with the antitrust laws suspended, with the influence and power which the large combines must necessarily have in fixing codes, the small business man must pass out of the field of industry.—Since last October, when I made some remarks upon this subject, which were published, I have received a little over 9,000 letters from small business men of the country, giving instances of how the code was either embarrassing them or driving them out of business."

However, what Mr. Borah does not say is that in the collectivist philosophy of Prof. Tugwell, Mr. Richberg, Mr. Wolman, Mr. Hillman, Miss Schneidemann, Dr. Douglas and other Socialist officials of the recovery organizations the extinction of the small business man is not regarded as an evil. Marxians have long contended that the sooner industry becomes trustified, the easier it will be for a Socialist State to communize it. Even if the Senator is successful in his praiseworthy efforts to restore the powers of the Anti-Trust Law, the small business man will continue to find the cards stacked against him in the N.R.A. system. Safety can best be assured to the American middle class by passing, not Senator Borah's amendment, but Senator Dickinson's bill to abolish the N.R.A. lock, stock and barrel.



To consider only the events of the past month, we have witnessed in Great Britain, the classic home of democracy, the immensely significant swinging of the Rothermere press to Sir Oswald Mosley's Black Shirt movement which had hitherto been rated abroad as powerless. It is as if, in this country, Mr. Hearst with his vast newspaper chain should have come out for Fascism. In France, we have witnessed the amazing spectacle of monarchists stepping out of a supposedly buried past and rioting in the streets of Paris, while Mr. Andre Tardieu foxily bides his time until the moment arrives when he will strike for Fascism. In Spain, a little over a month ago, the one country which seemed to have been salvaged for democracy in an age of Fascism, astounded the world by going to the polls and giving an overwhelming majority to the parties of the "Right". These are not speculations; they are actual events which are occurring challengingly before our eyes.

Against such a backdrop of world drama, the Roosevelt experiments take on a new and sinister significance. For what Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers have done has been to strike perhaps a mortal blow at American democracy at the very moment when the whole democratic movement was fighting for its survival throughout the world. They have stripped our American Congress of its powers at a time when it was the last secure bulwark of democracy in a sinking world. They have emasculated our Constitution when it stood upon the threshold of its greatest and final test.

History will tell whether or not the incredible follies of this Administration have, or have not, lost the cause of democracy in America forever. A few brave voices are still being raised in Washington against the stampede. But with an electorate corrupted by the receipt of bounties and subsidies from the Federal Treasury there seems little immediate probability that popular support will enable them to turn the tide. The dismal economic experiment seemingly must go on until its final fade-out of inflation arouses the country, too late, to the fact that both democracy and capitalism have perished.

But the most desolating fact in the whole situation is that, in scuttling democracy, the Brain Trust has evolved no other workable system to take its place. Whatever one may think of Fascism or of Communism in Europe, it is only just to admit that they brought with them into power a consistent and reasoned concept of a new system to replace the old. They did not destroy democracy, without formulating a definite new concept of the State which was to succeed it. Whether for good or for ill, they knew the road which they were following, and the goal which lay at its end.

In contrast to these European dictatorships, our New Deal regime is a faltering and planless trying-out of all types of contradictory and quack economic experiments. It is a Socialism which lacks the courage to go far enough to assure the possible benefits of complete collectivism. It has borrowed many ideas from Fascism, but it lacks the iron hand to gather all the economic forces of the nation into one concentric social plan. It solaces itself that it is still a democracy, but in destroying the freedom under

now tearing at the heart of Europe will, thanks to Mr. Roosevelt's "permanent readjustment of many of our social and economic arrangements" become transplanted in our own once tranquil land. We shall face the naked and ruthless forces of Communism and of Fascism in a nation which, had we possessed the stamina to resist the bait of the New Deal, might have gone on along traditional American paths for at least another generation.

One slender thread of hope yet remains that we may avoid the deluge. That hope is that a recrudescence of American spirit, appearing during the next few months, may offer such a challenging resistance to the policies of socialization that Mr. Roosevelt will bow before the storm and dismiss his foolish advisers. It is to the attainment of that immediate purpose that THE AWAKENER has devoted itself. Are there not still enough men in Israel who have not bowed their necks to Baal to save democracy? We ask the question, as the shadows thicken over a staggering America.

### Mr. Farley Condescends

Mr. James A. Farley has exhibited an alarming disposition to make speeches since he joined the roster of the great. Some of us have a faint suspicion that the warm encouragement which he was given by the Administration to make his recent trip to Europe had something to do with this new oratorical appetite. We know of some Washington sighs of relief that were emphatically heaved.

However, now the Grand Tour is over, the country will be pleased to note that Mr. Farley is back in full stride. His Cleveland address of January 13th, obligingly carried throughout the country on a national hook-up, revealed the "Boss" in unsuspected brilliance. While his hint that Democratic Congressmen opposing the New Deal might soon suffer from patronage troubles caught the headlines, it was his devastating blast against the "Tories" which arrested our own deepest attention.

These opponents of the gospel according to Tugwell are "crusted Old Guardsmen" roared Mr. Farley, "men who still talk and think in archaic worn-out terms, men who know nothing and can do nothing but quibble and grumble." And much more of the same.

As quite unregenerate "Tories" ourselves, we feel crushingly rebuked. We wonder, in our simplicity, if perhaps the trouble is that we don't know as much as does Mr. Farley. We wonder if Professor Sprague and Mr. Warburg, and former President Lowell, of Harvard, and Senator Glass and former Governor Smith, and all the other Democrats, not to speak of the diabolical Republicans, who have found, after much heart-searching and contemplating of American ideals, that they could not follow our pop-eyed Alices into the Wonderland that they are preparing for us—wonder if the difficulty is just that they are incapable of climbing to the rarified intellectual ether of our Postmaster General.

If this be the bitter truth, then we have an unfailing prescription for the cultural malady from which they suf-

fer. *awakened Americans in Jewish religion who are cooperating generously with us in our campaign against Marxian internationalism.*

However, frankness compels us to state it as our opinion that the recent ruling rendered by Attorney General Cummings at the request of Miss Perkins which will permit the admission to America of the Jewish refugees from Germany is a thoroughly vicious decision. Its essential tragedy will be that the ultimate victims of this new policy will be the Jewish people themselves.

Under the guise of friendship for those of Jewish religion, Miss Perkins has initiated a policy which will inevitably identify the Jewish people in the American public mind with the Socialist and the Communist movements. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the spirit of the present Immigration Act, it is self-evident that the extension of special privileges and exemptions from its provisions to a specific race must arouse a reaction of protest and resentment from other American racial elements. It is an especially dangerous undertaking at this moment in view of the latent anti-Semitic feeling which, it is a matter of common knowledge, exists in wide areas of the country.

Those who have used their influence in the past to discourage such anti-Semitic sentiment will find it increasingly difficult to secure an unbiased hearing for Jewish viewpoints in the face of a decision which will be regarded as a direct affront by those who are already unfriendly.

The wiser and more far-sighted Americans of Jewish extraction have, for some time, deplored the violence and the unrestraint with which the extremists of their religion in New York have endeavored to foment the Jewish issue. Some time ago, it will be recalled, Judge Proskauer expostulated at a meeting of Jewish organizations against the long-range danger of the present provocative Jewish policies, only to be heckled and shouted down by the Socialists and Communists in the meeting.

The fact which is obscured in most of the discussion of the German question is that the overwhelming majority of the 80,000 refugees have left Germany, not because they are Jews, but because they are Socialists and Communists. While it is easy to understand why Miss Perkins, who is herself a Socialist sympathizer, would desire to facilitate the entrance of these thousands of trained German Socialist agitators to America, it is a cruel injustice to the Jewish people to jeopardize their future status in America in order to promote the interests of the Socialist movement.

The fact that Mr. Moley's "Today" has featured in its current number an enthusiastic demand that the American doors be thrown open to the anti-Hitler German elements indicates that this new step is but another incident in the long sequence of socialist policies now being carried out by the New Dealers in Washington. For the sake of the multitudes of honest, law-abiding patriotic American Jews who abhor Socialism and Communism and who believe that American Jews should be first, last, and all the time Americans, unconcerned with international and European poli-

(Continued on page four)

indebtedness aggregating many millions of dollars. A short time ago, a million dollars worth of these bonds were called for redemption. A few days later, ten million dollars more of this indebtedness, and the accrued interest, were cancelled. Payment was of course made in our depreciated currency.

The insurance companies of this country form the largest group of private creditors in the United States. They are the trustees for the widows and orphans of this and succeeding generations. The ability of the insurance companies to discharge their obligations as trustees depends upon the maintenance of the value of the securities they hold. That value has diminished in exactly the same measure that the bonded indebtedness overlying the equity of Mr. Hearst in his vast chain of publications has been reduced. The twenty-nine large insurance companies of this country have now registered their solemn protest against the act of spoliation applauded by Mr. Hearst. Their standpoint is also explained by their interest.

Which of these two diametrically opposite viewpoints is correct? The answer is found in that divine injunction, "Thou shalt not steal."

Imbued with the belief that the course of our present National Administration is uninfluenced by dishonest or selfish motives, it must always present to us and to posterity a vexing, and, apparently, an unsolvable problem. One imponderable factor to be considered when striving for a solution is the fact that a foreknowledge of the government's gold purchases in foreign markets would present its possessor with an opportunity to acquire enormous wealth.

The promises made by our "Brain Trust" when we changed our monetary system were eagerly accepted by the farmer. For many years our "green goods" men and bunco steers have known that no class of the community "harkens with credulity to the whisper of fancy" with more childlike simplicity than does that of our horny handed agriculturists. This simple faith did of itself bring about a temporary increase in the price of farm products. Why sell if prices were to advance? There was however another factor in the equation. After five months the need of cash became urgent. The leaves broke and the market already glutted was overwhelmed with a sudden flood of unwanted products. This resulted of course in greater freightage. This increase in "car loading" was pronounced by Professor Irving Fisher to be an unfailing sign of returning prosperity. Fortunately the professor's audience now consists only of himself and his near relatives. His mistake is easily understood. If a stranger enters a town and sees long lines of moving automobiles, he might reasonably enough regard the traffic as evidence of the town's prosperity, when, actually, it only showed that a deadly epidemic had overtaken an already poverty-stricken city and that the automobile processions were funeral cars.

extorted himself the other way from the ungrateful situation which was developing in the Capitol through the booming law business of the members of the Democratic National Committee. For several weeks, insiders have been anticipating a blow-out when it became popularly known that men close to the President were beginning to corner the enormously profitable legal business which was developing in the alibi departments. Only, the expectation was that the explosion would be detonated by the President's opponents. Shrewdly enough, Mr. Roosevelt anticipated his opponents by precipitating the show-down himself, when one of the Washington correspondents asked him point-blank, in the White House press conference, what was going to be done about a situation which was becoming notorious. For the moment, the Administration has escaped its first political crisis, but at a cost of throwing some of the President's closest friends, including the ubiquitous Mr. Jackson, to the wolves.

However, there are some other ugly spots on the political map which have not yet been liquidated. Perhaps the most disturbing situation is that which has been brewing for some months in Massachusetts where young Jimmie Roosevelt has been making something of a nuisance of himself. Report has it that young Jimmie, besides conducting a thriving insurance business, is also cold-shouldering Senators Walsh and Coolidge in the distribution of Massachusetts patronage. Practically all of the major Massachusetts appointments so far made by the President have gone to the proteges of young Jimmie or of Professor Felix Frankfurter. In Fall River, another tempest in the teapot has arisen over the efforts of Mrs. Louis McHenry Howe to take charge of things generally. The dominant Smith faction in the Massachusetts Democracy are accepting the scorpions of this new Rebohom with ominous mumblings concerning the future.

Considerable interest has been felt in Washington in the political implications of the kicking over of the traces by Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia. For some time, Governor Talmadge has been openly critical of some of the aspects of the New Deal program. During the Fall he expressed himself forcibly, after a trip to the Capitol, that Washington is a madhouse. His opposition came to a climax early last month when he openly broke with Harry Hopkins after delivering caustic criticism of the C. W. A. Mr. Hopkins promptly ousted the Georgia Governor from his connection with the C. W. A. It is believed that Governor Talmadge's defection is only a symptom of a growing dissatisfaction among leading Southern democrats with the bureaucracy which is growing up in Washington.

The master-minds who think up jobs for the C. W. A. have just pulled a new one. Up in Jersey City 115 unemployed have been put to work killing rats. The ladies on this rat detail are ringing door-bells of Jersey City homes asking everywhere, "Have you any rats in your house today?"

one cure: monetary changes, or inflation of the quantity of money.

Now any person who attributes all our economic troubles to one cause and finds the cure in policies or measures to deal with that cause is a crank. One may exaggerate, misinterpret and be completely mistaken about certain causes of the depression without being a crank; but any one-cause explanation of the depression or any other complex social facts is the product of a monomaniac's mind. The one-cause explanation indicates a pathological mentality. Many crazy people, of course, are sane on all but one subject.

Professor Warren and Father Coughlin both believe that the gold standard is the villain of the piece. Professor Warren would reduce the gold content of the dollar to a figure between 50% and 60%—probably about 58%—of the pre-Roosevelt legal definition of the dollar—\$20.67 for an ounce of gold or 23.22 grains of fine gold to the dollar. Father Coughlin once indicated that he would cheapen the dollar still further to 44% of the pre-Roosevelt gold parity.

Actually, the Roosevelt Administration is maintaining, quite artificially, a parity of \$34.45 an ounce of gold. This parity is maintained by bidding that price for gold and buying a little at that price from time to time in foreign, or world markets, and also by buying the current domestic production of new gold at about this price. These purchases of gold, coupled with the announced and now legally declared policy of the American Government to reduce the gold content of the dollar to a quantity corresponding to these price levels—of gold—keep the dollar at a corresponding discount in terms of foreign exchanges which are still maintained on a gold standard basis. In simple words, President Roosevelt, by paying \$34.45 instead of \$20.67 an ounce for gold, has raised the price of gold and the price of all foreign currencies still maintained in the old legal ratio to gold. (But he has not raised wages or other prices in the same ratio thereby.) Now it is the essence of the Warren-Coughlin gold theories that raising the price of gold will raise the price of everything else.

It is, moreover, an essential of the Warren theory that the effect of a price rise is the same, however the price rise may be caused,—which is palpable nonsense and wholly unproved by any of Professor Warren's data or any past experience.

Professor Warren says, in brief: "Raise prices to the right level by changing the gold content of the dollar; keep prices at the right level by repeated changes of the gold content of the dollar; and enjoy prosperity with a dollar of stable purchasing power." Professor Warren does not prove that changing the gold content of the dollar would, of itself, raise all commodity prices or that a dollar of stable purchasing power would, of itself, assure perpetual prosperity. These are merely assumptions which he does not deem it necessary to prove.

In the process of getting prices up to the right level, Professor Warren would increase the quantity of bank credit and money, but his fundamental objectives are: First,

volume and production volume cannot be maintained just by juggling with the gold equivalent of the dollar as defined by law.

Father Coughlin's thought is less technical and more popular, but inspired by the same idea that rules Professor Warren. He wants more money and more credit. So does Professor Warren. Father Coughlin blames the wickedness of the bankers in the use of gold for our trouble. He thinks that all our gold has belonged to the bankers and that they have used their power over it to oppress and exploit the people by not letting them have enough money. Now, of course, the bankers have not owned any quantity of gold since before the World War. On the contrary, the Central Banks of the World, including notably our Federal Reserve Bank, have owned and controlled the gold.

(Continued on page four)

## WHO PAYS THE BILL?

By CHANNING BARKER

Much of the willingness of the American people to go along with the inflationary policies of the Administration may be ascribed to the mystic belief of the economic laymen in the possibility of getting something for nothing.

The spectacle of the Federal Treasury acquiring a huge \$4,000,000,000 fund, without taxes, through the necromancy of gold depreciation captivates the imagination. We have found a way, reasons the layman, to escape economic law, to create unswayed wealth miraculously out of an apparent void.

Unfortunately for our trusting citizens, economic miracles do not happen. Somebody, somewhere, must pay for the bright flowing stream of unearned dollars. Ironically enough, in the present instance, it is the common man himself who is the final loser.

For a devaluation of the gold dollar to fifty cents means the corresponding drop of everything which is measured by gold. And the losers would not be the hated ogres of Wall Street whom Father Coughlin inveighs against. These sinister elements in fact are today among the most enthusiastic supporters of the inflationary program. Already, many of them have reaped fortunes out of the Roosevelt policies in the perpendicular rise of the New York Stock Exchange securities. And like Jesse L. Livermore, the prototype of the clan, they are ecstatically proclaiming a new age of booming markets.

No, the victim of the fifty cent dollar is not the gambler or the industrialist who is versatile enough to keep ahead of the parade. It is the small salaried or wage-earning millions whose life-savings are cut in two, beyond hope and beyond salvage. To take but a single instance, the policy which proposes to give to the Government four billions of gratuitous revenues, simultaneously costs the holders of our one hundred billions of life insurance policies the stag-

(Continued on page four)

Canadian and the American situation is shown by the statistics of bank clearings. While in the United States, business activity, as measured by bank clearings, showed a decline in 1933 from the 1932 total of 5.9 per cent, in Canada, bank clearings increased from 1932 to 1933 by over 14 per cent. Clearings for the 12 months of 1932 in Canada totalled \$12,909,613,403, while in 1933 they reached the figure of \$14,720,601,011.

For the first two weeks of 1934, Canada continued to show a striking contrast with the United States where bank clearings are still falling. While in the United States, clearings decreased during the week ending January 6th, by 47 per cent, in Canada during the same week they increased 64 per cent. During the second week of the year, ending January 13th, while bank clearings continued to fall by 6.5 per cent in the United States, they increased 187 per cent in Canada.

Another economic gain which is being hailed by Canadians is the steady and gratifying increase in export trade during 1933. The following represents Canadian import and export trade for the eight months, from April 1st to November 30th:

	1932	1933
Exports .....	\$336,645,984	\$386,007,148
Imports .....	296,504,247	284,968,473
Favorable balance .....	\$ 40,141,737	\$101,038,675

A steady upward movement in wholesale prices has been experienced in Canada throughout the year. For December, the wholesale price index (with 1926 assumed as normal) stood at 69.0, the highest level of the year. This compared with 64.0, the index for December, 1932, and with 63.6 in February, 1933, when wholesale prices touched bottom for the year.

A particularly gratifying feature of their recovery in the opinion of Canadian business men is the fact that it has been gradual and free from sudden upward spurts which might not have proved lasting. Thus, while there was no such sudden advance as America enjoyed in the early summer while industry was piling up inventories in preparation for the N.R.A., Canada had no downward movement during the Fall months, similar to the dip in the United States. In the middle of December, the index of industrial production in Canada was at a slightly higher level than that of the United States.

Many Americans who have been watching Canadian business progress during recent weeks are beginning to feel that Canada is experiencing the same kind of an advance which the United States would have enjoyed by the setting in of the natural forces of recovery had the Administration not defeated such recovery by embarking upon a disquieting policy of monetary experiments.

## THE AWAKENER

A NATIONAL ORGAN OF SOUND OPINION

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### Whither America?

It is an unhappy characteristic of American politics that many of our leaders suffer from a chronic parochialism. We assume that America exists in a political void. We fail to envisage the world in which we live, and to realize that there are certain broad world and time forces from which even the most inspired statesmanship can not keep America permanently immune.

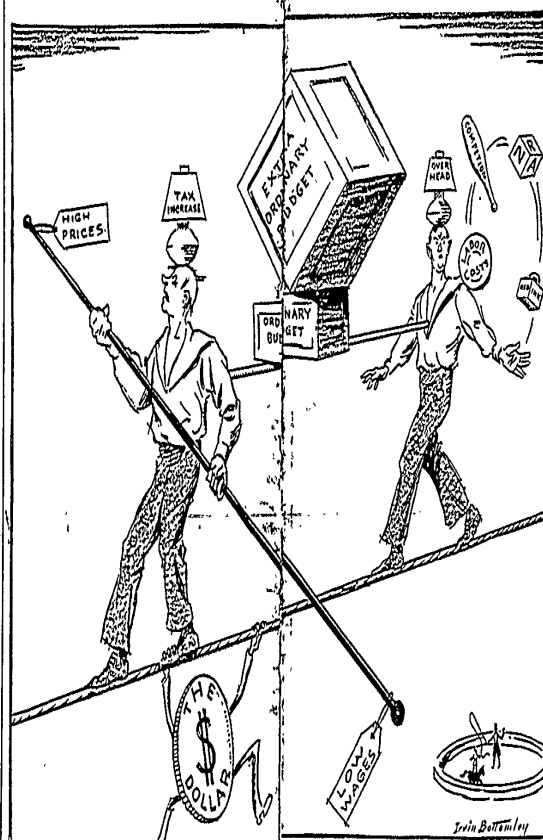
Specifically, many of our leaders, in the face of the reckless Roosevelt program of experimentation do not realize the tragic significance of American abandonment of democratic forms in times such as these. They console themselves with the easy thought that Mr. Roosevelt is trying something temporary and of merely emergency character, and that after the storm has subsided we can go back to our traditional freedom. Not even the President's challenging declaration in his recent message to Congress that his measures are "building a strong and permanent tie between the legislative and executive branches of the Government" and that "recovery" means a permanent readjustment of many of our social and economic arrangements, awakes them to the fact that perhaps the old America is gone forever.

However, even a superficial survey of the world situation would reveal the fact to these optimists that the events which are now taking place in America are the last desperate stand of democracy in a world in which the democratic cause is everywhere on the descendant. It would be juvenile to ignore the fact that in Europe, democracy is in demoralizing and hopeless retreat. Italy, Germany, Austria, Portugal, Estonia, and Lithuania are already frankly Fascist countries. Poland, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Turkey, Albania, and to a more limited extent, Greece, Roumania and Bulgaria, are under military dictatorship. Russia is under the Communist form of dictatorship. In the areas which remain to democracy, strong and growing parties are clamoring for dictatorship.

which the economic forces of the country may, under democracy, make their necessary automatic mutual adjustments and adaptations, it has paralyzed the initiative of natural forces without substituting a central planning brain.

In short, the New Deal regime is an economic no man's land, which is neither Socialism, Fascism, nor American democracy. Without basis in economic purpose, and without consistency in political technique, it cannot endure. The mill stones of the great warring political ideals which are opposing each other throughout the world will eventually crush the schemings of the bright young men who now dominate the President. The issues which are

## "GREATEST SHOW ON EARTH"



Irvin Berlin

fer. Let them matriculate for a six years course as Chairmen of the New York State Boxing Commission, and follow it by post-graduate work as a rounder-up of convention delegates and a disburser of political spoils. Then at last they will be able to talk Mr. Farley's language and catch the vision of the new bright world which shall be ruled by the pupils of Felix Frankfurter.

### A Vicious Perkins Policy

First of all, let us state emphatically that THE AWAKENER is not an anti-Semitic publication. The editors of this newspaper enjoy and esteem the friendship of many

## FACING FACTS

By HOWARD PITCHER OKIE

In the foreground of the picture of our national life at the dawn of the new year there stands an heroic and appealing figure. No president has captured the affections of his fellow citizens more completely than has Franklin D. Roosevelt. Capable, lovable, affectionate and intensely loyal to his friends, he adds to these fine qualities a noble patriotic purpose. There is nothing he will not do to serve his country in her present crisis—except one, he will not appoint to public office anyone who did not support his candidacy for the presidential nomination. This limitation is unfortunate as it excludes from public service those astute men who helped make—who in fact did make—his first administration as governor of New York a success. On presumably patriotic grounds they opposed his nomination, although they supported his candidacy after the convention had acted.

It is inconceivable that men like Alfred E. Smith, John Raskob and Joett Shouse would have acquiesced in the appointment to a cabinet post of McAdoo's henchman, Daniel C. Roper, who, it was thought by everyone, including himself, had said farewell to public life when during the Wilson Administration he left his post as Collector of Internal Revenue with a portfolio of data to be utilized in obtaining refunds of income taxes as an attorney, when by remaining in office he could have made the same payments in his official capacity.

Although the circumstances surrounding Mr. Roper's separation from the Treasury Department were strangely reminiscent of Grant's second administration, in his present office his attitude suggests that of the elder Brutus in its sacrificial aspect. Knowing full well the temptations that beset an office-holder, he has exhibited absolute fearlessness in exposing to them his nearest and dearest as well as his more remote kindred. It may well be that if and when Macaulay's "traveler from New Zealand" visits New York, he may, while seated in City Hall Park upon a broken column which once supported the statue of Nathan Hale, gaze upon one erected by the N.R.A. to Daniel C. Roper bearing these words:

"MY ONLY REGRET IS THAT I HAD NOT MORE RELATIVES TO FILL GOVERNMENT JOBS."

The demonization of gold with the consequent depreciation of our dollar was first advocated in an influential quarter by William Randolph Hearst, owner of a chain of newspapers and magazines covering the entire surface of our country and entering nearly every home in the United States. His gigantic concern was encumbered by a bonded

FOR  
THE AMERICANISM  
OF THE "RIGHT"

PUBLICATION FILE

# THE AWAKENER

A NATIONAL ORGAN OF SOUND OPINION

AGAINST  
THE SOCIALISM  
OF THE "LEFT"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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PRICE TEN CENTS



By R. E. S.

Despite the announcement of Earle S. Baile's resignation from the Treasury Department, following the expose of his Wall Street career in the last issue of THE AWAKENER, he is still in Washington. While bowing before the storm in the matter of Mr. Baile's appointment as Assistant Secretary, Mr. Morgenthau seems determined to continue to use the Seligman partner in an unofficial capacity. Baile is at a premium in the Treasury Department these days and whatever may be said of Mr. Baile's business ethics, nobody has ever questioned his striking ability. Poor bewildered Mr. Morgenthau may well say, as Henry said of Falstaff, "I could have better spared a better man." However, let it be noted that Senators Arthur Robinson and Couzens have not yet got in their last words.

A quite shameless admission that members of the Administration plan to exploit the supposed non-partisan recovery activities for the purpose of making "New Deal" Democrats was made by Miss Mary Dewson, director of the women's division of the Democratic National Committee, at Mrs. Roosevelt's press conference at the White House January 15th. A regional board of six outstanding Democratic women organizers will be set up, according to Miss Dewson, which will prepare a list of hundreds of women Democrats who will be empowered to set up local recovery bodies in each community. In each local unit there will be 26 "reporters", one for each of the alphabetic recovery organizations in Washington. The duty of these reporters will be to "explain to the Republican women what it is all about." Miss Dewson confidently declared that "if the Republican women thoroughly understand the setup of the administration agencies, they will realize that they have been Democrats all along." Apparently the "New Dealers" are already looking forward to winning the next election by acclamation.

Washington has been immensely impressed by the hair-trigger political adroitness with which the President

## DEBUNKING FATHER COUGHLIN

ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS OF F. D.'s MONETARY ADVISERS EXPOSED

By LAWRENCE DENNIS

After President Roosevelt, Father Coughlin is undoubtedly the most influential political figure in the United States today. He is also the most valuable supporter of the Roosevelt Administration and economic policies. That a clergyman should support the social program of a political administration of which he approves is neither strange nor censurable; but, that a parish priest with no training in economics or finance, should be the most vocal and effective exponent of the monetary policies of President Roosevelt is highly significant.

The author of President Roosevelt's gold and money policy is Professor Warren of Cornell University, a professor of farm management and an authority on chicken lice. And a parish priest, who is a past master at rabble-rousing, is the chief exponent of this policy. Professor Warren is regarded by practically all economists, including the members of the economics faculty of his own university, Cornell, as wholly unqualified in the field in which he has become celebrated as an amateur speculator and as the expert adviser of the President. Father Coughlin has been criticized by the leading ecclesiastics of his own church from Cardinal O'Connell down as an unsound and dangerous demagogue.

But let us not be accused of an attempt to disqualify these two pillars of the New Deal on the technical ground of professional incompetence. After all, Professor Warren has written a book full of terrifying tables and graphs to expound and prove his theory that changes in the price of gold are responsible for all the economic woes of the world; while Father Coughlin, like a faithful geyser, spouts weekly a steam of facts, alleged facts, and figures to support his somewhat more confused and incoherent monetary views. If knowledge of facts, without good judgment to weigh them and without the ability to think straight about them, could qualify a person as a monetary expert, Agronomist Warren and Parish Priest Coughlin might be accepted as monetary experts. The best evidence that neither is a qualified authority on money may be epitomized in the statement that both are cranks on the subject of money. Evidence that they are cranks is furnished by their insistence that all our economic troubles have one cause: money and

price raising to the right level, and second, price maintenance at the right level; all by means of changes in the gold content of the dollar. Attainment of these objectives will, Professor Warren believes, yield the right quantity of bank credit and money in circulation. What is the right price level? Professor Warren answers that question with a line of reasoning based on his analysis of price changes and statistics of gold production over the past century. Briefly, he holds that he has found an ideal correlation between the growth in yearly production of gold, goods and services. Prices are right when they coincide with a certain ratio of increase in the world's monetary gold stock and world economic production. To point out the implications and weaknesses of this theory is the work of a book as long as Professor Warren's tome. Briefly, it may be said that the theory does not take into account changes in subjective or objective factors affecting supply and demand from what these factors were during the period covered by Professor Warren's statistics; nor does the Warren theory take account of changes in the mechanics of the gold standard growing out of the pyramiding of bank deposits on a small base of gold. Now that gold no longer circulates as it did in 1850 or even 1910, the role of gold is not the same as it was before the war, with the result that less gold is needed to support the same volume of bank deposits or currency.

Professor Warren's big point, of course, is that prices have fallen because we had not increased our gold stock fast enough to meet the needs of our credit and currency expansion since 1914. Most economists would say that we expanded our credit and currency during the War and prior to 1929 too fast for our increase in production, or that we had too much credit inflation. Professor Warren would say that we did not have enough gold to support our inflated volume of credit. Most people would accept without quarrel and as unimportant his emphasis on the disparity between gold volume and credit volume rather than an emphasis on the disparity between credit volume and economic production volume, if Professor Warren did not insist that this disparity could be righted by a little bookkeeping sleight of hand, or just writing up in terms of gold the value of our assets and income. In other words,

### CANADIAN RECOVERY REFUTES NEW DEAL

Without Radical Experiments, Canada  
Stages Surprising Come-Back  
As America Lags

Recent economic reports from Canada indicate convincingly that the turn has been definitely accomplished by the Canadian people during the past year. Year-end figures released by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics at Ottawa indicate that the index of the physical volume of business in Canada stands 17 per cent above the figure of one year ago. This has been accompanied by an encouraging decrease in unemployment which, according to the Bureau, was reduced in the Dominion between June and November, 1933, by approximately 12.5 per cent.

The spectacular reversal of the business trend in Canada is the more astonishing in view of the fact that it has been accomplished without any of the extraordinary measures which have been launched in the United States. Last summer, it is recalled, when the United States was enthusiastically setting up the N.R.A., Canadian radicals exerted strenuous pressure upon Prime Minister Bennett to imitate the American example and to inaugurate a Canadian N.R.A.

However, believing that this depression, like all previous depressions, could be overcome by natural economic forces and without extraordinary dictatorial measures, Mr. Bennett remained unmoved by their agitation. The unmistakable and solid recovery of Canada during the subsequent months while the United States was making little perceptible progress is now hailed by the Prime Minister's admirers as a demonstration of the superiority of conservative methods over socialist methods in meeting the crisis.

## Nine Months of the New Deal

By LAWRENCE DENNIS

The economic policies of Mr. Roosevelt assume that maladjustment is the cause of the depression; that readjustment is the cure; and that the government must be the readjuster. Mr. Roosevelt has undertaken to readjust the debt burden by increasing income through a price rise instead of by reducing debt charges through the orderly processes of bankruptcies and foreclosures. In 1929 our total income was worth about \$30 billion and our debt charges amounted to about \$8 billion. In 1932 our income had been reduced to \$40 billion, but our debt charges were still \$8 billion.

Mr. Roosevelt has committed his administration to price raising by means of (1) a devaluation of the dollar in terms of gold—this devaluation has already brought the dollar down to around 63 cents gold; (2) increased credit for banks, industry and agriculture, which though available, is not being used; (3) supplementary government expenditures which may bring the annual total of federal disbursements to \$10 billion by the end of the present fiscal year, as against the normal budget of recent years of around \$4 billion.

The ordinary budget, it is true, has been reduced by Mr. Roosevelt by nearly a billion dollars, but an extraordinary budget of nearly twice the reduced ordinary budget of \$3 billion may be the result. Of course, a large part of these \$6 billion of extraordinary disbursements will take the form of loans by the R.F.C. and the Public Works Administrations. To whatever extent advances by the Federal Government to States, cities and private corporations, farmers or homeowners may ultimately be repaid with full interest, to that extent current extraordinary federal outpayments will be loans and not expenditures. As for farm prices, Mr. Roosevelt has undertaken to raise them by paying bonuses for crop restriction. The results of these latter measures are still uncertain.

All these economic policies of the New Deal aim to restore prosperity by raising prices to avert bankruptcies, and by spending money which the government will borrow. The assumptions are, as Brain Trustee Tugwell has stated, (1) that we can prime the prosperity pump by having the government borrow and spend several billion dollars; (2) that after the primed pump begins again to gush, the government will be able easily to pay off the money it is now borrowing.

Now it is never possible to prove prophecies about matters as variable as future trade conditions. However, it may be remarked at this time that the pump priming assumption is a doubtful theory and up to date is not confirmed by events. During the last two months of 1933, the price trend has been nearly stationary or slightly downward. Prices had been put up about 20% between April 1 and July 18. Gold prices are kept nominally at 50% above the legal gold parity of the dollar, but commodity prices have not been so sustained. The Government holds 6,000,000 bales of cotton to be dumped on the market and the limitation of crops is far from assured for 1934.

As for price trends, it may be said that New Deal measures taken to date do not assure the continued maintenance of the 20% price increase over 1932. While general business activity, which had fallen to 58 in March, on a scale of 100 for 1926, rose to 89 in July at the peak of the upturn of the spring, it had fallen again to 69 by the middle of December. In New York, for instance, factory employment declined 3% from mid-October to mid-November and payrolls 4%. For other industrial states like Illinois, the latest figures indicate that a recession is in course. It must be remembered that there are upwards of 10,000,000 unemployed and that even a reduction of two or three millions in this total can mean but little as an element of recovery.

The fundamental weakness in the Roosevelt Recovery Program is that new capital investment is practically at a standstill. New capital issues in 1933 will be under \$1 billion as against \$1.6 in 1932, \$8 billion in 1930 and \$10 billion in 1929. It is hard to conceive of prosperity unless new capital issues rise to at least \$5 billion a year. Uncertainty about the future value of the dollar and the rigors of the Securities Act are keeping new capital issues below one billion. Of course, the Government can issue \$5 billion a year of new bonds to finance public works to take the place of private investment. But how long can that be continued? The federal debt may pass the war high level of \$26 billion before the end of the year of 1934. It is reasonable to ask, how shall we ever get back to private capital investment while the Government is replacing it with public capital investment?

There is no doubt that the federal Government can force the banks to buy its bonds, and that, for every dollar of paper money the Government causes the Reserve Banks to put out, the Government can force the banks to buy \$10 of its bonds. But to follow this policy would be to turn the banks into Government printing presses. The banks now have some \$600 millions of surplus cash reserves of which they could issue credit to buy \$6 billions of Government bonds. And the Government can lend the banks another billion dollars in paper money to enable them to buy \$10 billions in bonds. But once these devices are exploited to any considerable extent, the dollar may be expected to take a nose dive, thus precipitating a panicky flight from currency to goods. Thus would begin a spiral movement of vicious inflation. As it is, the true budget of total expenditures cannot be balanced by several billions. If real inflation started, the budgetary unbalance would increase.

The true test of the Roosevelt economic policies will come in connection with taxation. The present volume of federal expenditures is said to be necessary for recovery. It is being financed half by borrowing. The borrowing cannot go on indefinitely; either the expenditures must be reduced or taxes must be raised. It remains to be demonstrated that these expenditures will prime the pump or that there is a pump to prime.

## Is the Constitution In Danger?

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

CAN our Federal Constitution survive another jolt? The question becomes increasingly exigent as the few Dealers openly declare their intention to direct their next assault upon the Supreme Court itself.

Hitherto, believers in our American system could reassure themselves that, however rash might be the action of a temporary radical majority in Congress, our Supreme Court would be a bulwark which would unerringly defend our constitution. There was no danger that in a crisis, a single Congress could proclaim Socialism and pervert our fundamental form of government. Our fathers had foreseen such a danger and had secured the Constitution through the establishment of a non-political Supreme Court.

But now in their mad attempt to demonstrate that we have reached the end of the Capitalist epoch, the New Dealers tell us that the power which the Supreme Court has exercised through the crises of 145 years of American history will no longer be tolerated if applied to the New Deal. Already it appears the New Deal has taken on a quality which lifts it above such paltry considerations as the Supreme Court or our American constitutional system. Division Administrator Whiteside expressed it in a recent speech in New York, the N.R.A. has taken its place beside the Constitution itself. It is above the law; it is above the Supreme Court; it is above our American form of government itself.

Soon this miracle of statutes must come before our Supreme tribunal for judgment upon its constitutionality. But already, the New Deal acolytes are uttering warnings to the Court. Let the justices beware how they tamper with the N.R.A. The same crowd which has decreed the end of capitalism can equally decree the end of the Supreme Court.

Recently Professor Thomas R. Powell, writing in *Today*, the Administration organ, delivered himself of these ominous words:

"What would happen if the Supreme Court should seek to recall the legions laboring to carry out the aims of the Recovery Act can safely be left to speculation.... The Justices of the Supreme Court cannot be unaware of history. Regard for their own high place of dignity and power must be part and parcel of regard for the safe working of our system as a whole. If they cannot fail to realize what damage and disorder would follow an abrupt and wholesale stopping of the efforts now in progress, they cannot be unmindful of the thunders that would rattle if they decreed the halt."

What before in American history, may it be asked, have the advocates of a temporary legislative measure been so arrogant as to threaten thunders to a Supreme Court which refused to annul the American Constitution in their behalf?

But Professor Maurice Finkelstein, writing in the *Nation* (October 18, 1933), goes a step beyond Professor

Ernest T. Weir's defiance of the National Labor Board—an action which Mr. Weir will certainly contest, if necessary, all the way to the Supreme Court. Another case which is also before the lower courts is a New York lawyer's defiance of the President's prohibition of gold hoarding. When one of these actions reaches the supreme tribunal, the fate of the New Deal will be written in historic letters.

It would be a bootless task to attempt to predict the action of the Court. The New Deal press has recently been replete with articles analyzing the social backgrounds of each of the nine incumbents and speculating hopefully upon the possible health of the older justices. Cheerful writers for the New Deal have already nominated Hiram Johnson, Felix Frankfurter, and even Donald R. Richberg, for early appointment. In each case the discussion has hinged, not upon the nominee's fitness to interpret or defend the constitutional ideals of the country, but solely upon the zeal with which he can be relied upon to emasculate the Constitution and clear the path for an oncoming American Socialism. Naturally, in such a continued atmosphere, constitutional Americanism is doomed, for no government can endure when the mob becomes mightier than the law.

Not all of the New Dealers, of course, are as incautious as are Professor Powell and Professor Finkelstein. Most of the Administration spokesmen carefully sidestep a discussion of the permanence of the N.R.A. at this time and urge judicial confirmation on the elastic ground of a national emergency. To the better minds in the Administration the "emergency" plea has seemed to be the most painless device for soft peddling the obvious unconstitutionality of the measure. By begging the question, they would avert the whole danger of its being raised.

The best reply so far to the emergency argument was the recent rejoinder of Justice Louis H. Brand of the Michigan Supreme Court. Alluding to the frequent assertions by the President that the Administration is merely experimenting and will not hesitate to discard any measure found inadequate, the Justice asked pointedly if legislation of such experimental character could justify the setting aside of the fundamental law of the land. Would not such a thoughtless policy leave us, in the event that the Recovery Act failed, not only without a Recovery Act, but also without a Constitution?

### Danger in Emergency Plea

But the true viciousness of the emergency argument can only be realized when we analyze it. The establishment of the precedent that any Congress may add to its own powers or the powers of government by declaring the existence of a national emergency would, of course, be in effect an annulment of the Constitution itself. All constitutional power is granted by specific acts of the Con-

## BOOKS WHICH INTEREST US

## FASCISM AS IT ISN'T

By HAROLD LORD VARNEY

THE MENACE OF FASCISM—By John Strachey—Covici Friede, New York, 22 pp, \$2.50.

Nothing better illustrates the deliberate malice which envenoms most of our so-called "Liberal" weeklies when they discuss the subject of Fascism than the fulsome praise which has recently been showered upon this mediocre and repetitious diatribe by the excited Mr. Strachey, "The Menace of Fascism".

The reader searches in vain through the volume for a new or original insight into the Fascist tide which is today sweeping Europe. He finds only a new stanza of the same unvarying Marxian song.

With wearisome earnestness, Mr. Strachey marshals to the bar the same old stock accusations with which anti-Fascist alarmists have long gushed tears from the eyes of Socialists. The Eden Musee of horrors and atrocities is again assembled. Forgotten Italian recalcitrants are resurrected from oblivion. The current German version of Fascism is distinguished by a whole chapter of horrors, faithfully catalogued and annotated, and repeated in the hushed horror with which Communists always discuss all non-Russian "direct action."

Certainly, Prof. Salvemini does this thing better. At least he has the virtue of approaching the moral shortcomings of Fascism from the vantage-point of one who walks in the ethical traditions of Liberalism and not, as Mr. Strachey, from a position of Communism with all its background of ruthlessness and force. We wonder if a Communist writer will ever arise who has the intellectual daring to purge his pages of cant and hypocrisy, and admit that the struggle between Fascism and Communism is not a duel of moralities, but a titanic struggle between two irreconcilable economic programs which, out of blood and tears, would erect the structure of the new and lasting society.

Mr. Strachey glibly repeats the stock Marxian case against Fascism; its emphasis of nationalism as against internationalism; its curbing of the strike and lockout; its defense of private property and the profit system; its preservation of the existing classes. This thrice-told tale, Mr. Strachey tells again with fervent variations.

But of the deeper side of Fascism, of its appeal to traditional and primal spiritual impulses in man which demagoguery has overlaid with cynicism and sterile materialism, the reader catches no inkling in Mr. Strachey's pages. And yet, without an understanding of this spiritual reservoir which Fascism has tapped, how may we understand its miracle of marching millions of youths and boys, black-shirted and brown-shirted, who with one Olympian gesture have obliterated Liberalism, Socialism and Communism simultaneously from the face of the two most highly cultured nations in the world? All the sophistry and the ready-made syllogisms which Mr. Strachey may assemble cannot obscure the finality of this thunderous historic fact.

What the author does in his attempt to demolish the Fascist thesis is to build up an utterly misleading caricature of the Corporative State in practice, and then to demonstrate that such a state does not suffice. First, he rep-

## N. R. A. PUBLICITY CLOGS MAIL

## Swarm of Government-Paid Publicity Men

Grind Out Johnson Copy

The immense publicity machine which General Johnson and his colleagues have built up in Washington at Government expense to sell the New Deal to the American public has just been brought to light through the efforts of Senator L. J. Dickinson of Iowa. In response to the peremptory demand of the Senator, the N. R. A. office in Washington has finally been induced to disclose the long-awaited report of its pay-roll.

Not since the days of George Creel and his war-time committee of information has Washington witnessed such a high-pressure drive to mobilize national opinion behind a Government policy. A small army of publicity men, writers, lecturers and even "matheons", it appears, has moved into the Commerce Building under the expert direction of Charles Michelson, publicity director of the Democratic National Committee. Under the Government's newspapers, lecturers and all informational centers have been deluged for weeks with printed matter from this N. R. A. propaganda mill.

It is estimated that to date no less than 4,000,000 pieces of N. R. A. literature have been mailed to the local boards, organizations and individuals who are participating in the recovery drive. Approximately 2,500 newspaper releases have been sent to the press of the country, and to interested individuals. One N. R. A. speaker has reported that he has received a total of 315 separate bits of mail from the Johnson office ranging from single sheets up to manuscripts comprising 22 pages of single-spaced typewritten pages.

Grinding out this vast output of propaganda are the following officials who are now being carried upon the N. R. A. payroll according to General Johnson's report. This list does not include the additional publicity staffs who are being employed by the local offices throughout the country but only the Washington employees:

Charles Michelson, director of publicity .....	.....
.....Paid by Democratic National Committee .....	.....
Victor Von Czesliski, statistician .....	\$6,000.00
Ivan V. Emelianoff, statistician .....	3,000.00
Frank R. Wilson, propagandist .....	6,000.00
Louis J. Alter, assistant chief, propaganda and .....	5,200.00
public speaking .....	4,000.00
William V. Lawson, publicity director .....	5,100.00
W. Bruce MacNamee, assistant to Mr. Lawson .....	5,000.00
Earl M. Heffrey, chief, insignia section .....	4,200.00
Rev. Frederick Vining Fisher, speaker .....	4,000.00
Ernest L. Priest, librarian .....	3,000.00
Henry H. Pivley, matheon .....	3,000.00
Harry R. Daniel, writer .....	2,700.00
Frank B. Lord, writer .....	2,700.00
Preston McGoodwin, writer .....	2,700.00
Thomas Peters, writer .....	2,700.00
H. A. Stimmick, writer .....	2,700.00
Spencer Shadin, writer .....	2,700.00
Allyn A. Walters, writer .....	2,400.00
C. J. S. Durham, writer .....	2,200.00
Karl N. Richards, interviewer .....	2,200.00
John R. Chisholm, proofreader .....	2,200.00
Clarence Peter Dubose, proofreader .....	2,200.00
Lillian MacCandish, writer .....	2,200.00
Charles P. Frick, special correspondent .....	3,000.00
Mary Noland, editor .....	2,400.00

## MEN AROUND ROOSEVELT

(2) Rexford G. Tugwell

Rex G. Tugwell is fast taking his place as the "enfant terrible" of the Administration. Older and wiser men may attempt to entangle his footsteps as he steadily mounts to dizzy eminences. So far, youth has been unfailingly triumphant. His latest tour de force has been no less a feat than the annihilation of George N. Peek himself.

The unexpectedness of his triumphs has been their most thrilling quality. Few would have doubted, a few weeks ago, that any attempt by the erstwhile Columbia professor to fall afoul of the mighty Daruch-Johnson-Peek triumvirate could have any other outcome than to send him reeling to the oblivion which had already engulfed a Raymond Moley. But events have proven that a Tugwell is most decidedly not a Moley. Some of his admirers are even whispering hopefully that a Tugwell may well be a Talleyrand.

Unfortunately for this hope, Mr. Tugwell is a talker, who believes, unlike his prototype, that words are made not to conceal, but to reveal thought. The thought that he has revealed monotonously through his meteoric career has been the thought that Socialism is inevitable for America. As he mounts nearer to the Presidential throne, trailing poor Henry C. Wallace in his wake, his life-long Socialism becomes more and more a national issue. Is it possible, Washington is asking, that the Marxian apparition is already casting Tugwellian shadows over the White House?

Other Brain Trusters have carried with them into power backgrounds which were dimly suspect of Socialism. But of Mr. Tugwell's Jacobinism there can be no lingering shadow of doubt.

Ever since his accession to power, his name has continued to appear regularly as one of the editors of the New Republic, whose Socialism is of so militant a hue that it questioned gravely, during the last Presidential campaign, whether the American comrades should not vote for William Z. Foster rather than for that bourbon conservative, Norman Thomas. He appeared conspicuously recently as one of the Committee sponsoring the Rand School, the

unable to show enough managerial ability to save the Moline Plow Works. It went into reorganization, while Henry C. Wallace's "Wallace Homestead Co." likewise took the "Nelson cure" just a short time ago. What superior judgment have these men ever demonstrated in private life which qualifies them to become the Mussolinis of all American business? At latest reports, the manufacturer has not yet been cracked down upon for lese-majeste.

An amusing incident, in view of the immense influence of Edward A. Filene with the present Administration, was the rebuff given by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency the other day to the Twentieth Century Fund

Socialist Party headquarters in New York, where he has been an official lecturer.

On Russia, also, Mr. Tugwell is regular. While it was still unpopular to advocate Soviet recognition, Mr. Tugwell together with Paul H. Douglas, who is also now one of the commissars in Washington, visited Soviet Russia as one of the unofficial "trade union" delegation which Albert Coyle conducted in 1927. This was the delegation which was repudiated as pro-Communist by the American Federation of Labor. Upon its return it published a report which was circulated widely, extolling the virtues of Sovietland and calling stridently for American recognition. Evidently, the Columbia professor was impressed, for in the June, 1930 issue of "The Communist", official magazine of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., he is credited with stating that it is necessary "to study a planned system, not at a conference of New York and Philadelphia engineers and economists, but in the Moscow Gogolian."

But certainly Mr. Tugwell's most dazzling contribution to Socialism, before his current appearance in Washington, was his authorship of "The Industrial Discipline".

We will spare the reader the advice to wade through the lengthy and rarified cerebrations of this much-heralded book. It is not an assignment for sophomores. But whether read or merely panted, the thesis of the book is unmistakable. It is an unqualified repudiation of capitalism. It pictures the kind of a world which Mr. Tugwell would like to build—a world without profits and without liberty. It is a world of technocrats in which each citizen would fit mechanically into the post which the experts had chosen for him.

Such a world may seem seductive, as Mr. Tugwell plans it. Utopias are always preferable in their paper form. But as we re-read the Democratic platform of 1932, we find no hint of such a program in the mandate which the people gave to Mr. Roosevelt. We recall no campaign speeches about expertocracy. Somehow, we wonder, as we contemplate the spectacle of Mr. Tugwell growing, if he does not sometimes bring disturbing premonitions to the equanimity of his great commander.

## MONEY CHANGERS BACK IN THE TEMPLE

(Continued from page one)

"Today", the official Roosevelt organ, said in defense of Mr. Baillie's appointment to the Treasury that he had been chosen because "he knew the trick of placing securities." Well, there is no doubt that he is a master of security tricks. And how!

It would be interesting to know just what connections between Secretary Morgenthau and Mr. Baillie are responsible for this appointment. Of course, Mr. Morgenthau belongs to the social climbing groups of international financiers in which Mr. Baillie has moved and had his being. Mr. Morgenthau basked in the social sunlight of the Roose-

## LABOR BOARD PERMITS RED "UNIONS" TO MULTIPLY

(Continued from page one)

That the National Labor Board has adequate grounds upon which to outlaw the Trade Union Unity League from the N.R.A. setup has been frequently pointed out to Senator Wagner. The Communists themselves, whenever the issue has been raised, have shielded themselves behind the smoke-screen contention that the Trade Union Unity League was an organization apart from the Communist Party. The fact that the same personnel comprise the officers of the two organizations, has been waived aside by the lawyers for the Communist unions as non-evidence.

The hypocrisy of this contention of the Communists however is demonstrated by even the most superficial survey of the backgrounds of the T.U.U.L., and its relationship to the Moscow International. It is a matter of common knowledge that the T.U.U.L. is the "American Section of the Red International of Labor Unions".

What is this "Red International?" A brief sketch of the history of this parent organization will quickly disabuse the minds of American sentimentalists concerning the pretended non-Communism of the Trade Union Unity League.

The "Red International" came into being as a result of a conference held at Union House in Moscow on June 16, 1920. This gathering of revolutionaries from several countries was called by the Executive Committee of the Communist International and was presided over by Gregory Zinoviev, then Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale. After several sessions the conference ended with the resolution that "This committee will function as the International Council of Trade Unions and will act in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Third International on conditions that will be laid down by congresses. . . . One representative of the International Council of Trade Unions should be included in the Executive Committee of the Third International and a representative of the latter should be included in the International Council of Trade Unions." This interlocking representation with the Communist Internationale was later provided for in the original constitution adopted.

### Seeks Ruthless Class War

On August 1, 1920, this same organization which then called itself The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions issued a manifesto from Moscow. This document read in part: "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions carries not peace but a sword to the bourgeoisie of all countries. This defines the essence of our activity. Our program is the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a ruthless class war on an international and national scale and a close, unseverable alliance with the Communist International".

Lenin was the moving spirit in the original conferences. His decisions were the final word. When the name Red International of Labor Unions was finally adopted and the first congress called for July 1921, he said: "This trade union congress will hasten the progress of Communism." He described the connection between the unions

and the Communist Party in this vivid manner "The engine is the Party, its cogs grip the cogs of the trade union wheel and bring them into motion, the trade unions in turn set into motion the greater masses."

The third Congress adopted a program for the Trade Union Educational League in America. This "American Section" was reorganized in 1929 and today calls itself the Trade Union Unity League. It still retains its connection with the Red International of Labor Unions and the decisions of the Third Congress still apply to it.

The instructions from the Red International of Labor Unions to its "American Section" are handed down through the initiative and at the direction of the Communist International as may readily be seen from the following quotation from the official organ of the R.I.L.U., dated December 1929. It reads: "In order that the Fifth R.I.L.U. Congress may pass serious resolutions and represent a step in advance of the Fourth Congress—and circumstances imperatively demand this—the condition of the leadership of economic struggles must be severely investigated. We have plenty of resolutions on this question . . . the Sixth Comintern (Communist International) Congress and the Tenth Plenary Session of the E.C.C.I. (Executive Committee Communist International) and the Comintern Presidium, (Active authority of the Communist International between sessions of Executive Committee) have issued frequent instructions in this regard."

### Communist Party Instructs T.U.U.L.

As further proof of the close connection between the Communist organization and the R.I.L.U. affiliate, the Trade Union Unity League, a quotation from the "Thesis and Resolutions for the 7th National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A." may be offered. On page 36 of this document it reads: "The most fundamental task of our Party is mass work in the building of the revolutionary unions of the T.U.U.L. into broad mass organs of struggle. The recent communications of the Comintern (Communist International) and Profintern (Red International of Labor Unions) have again laid stress upon this elementary necessity. It is in this work that there lies the key to the development of our Party into a mass Communist Party." Another quotation reads: "The Party must take up immediately with all its force the task of building the Trade Union Unity League. . . . The Party membership . . . must be the heart, brain and backbone of the T.U.U.L."

The new revised program of the T.U.U.L. on page 20 declares: "The strike strategy of the Trade Union Unity League aims to develop the scattered struggles of the workers into the mass political strike. It is necessary that the workers bring their fight to a higher political plane, injecting into it broad political slogans, by widening it to include the masses of the workers, by deepening it and giving it more of a class content, by Directing Its Attack Against the State." To further clarify their position, on page 22, the following is to be found: "The T.U.U.L. has a revolutionary goal. . . . It advocates the overthrow of the present system . . . and the establishment of a Soviet System."

From the foregoing, it can easily be seen that the

of the New Deal

"Disguise it as one may, the New Deal involves, both by its immediate commitments and by the commitments which are bound to follow (sic), a revolutionary departure in national economic policy. Although it employs great caution and discretion, it has launched the country on a road which leads to a politically planned and regulated economic life, not altogether unlike that of Communist Russia or Fascist Italy."

### Threatens to Pack Court

en, passing to a discussion of the possible hazards which it when it reaches the hurdle of the Supreme Court, cautions the judges of the fate that will confront them if they decide that the American Constitution grants no right to Congress to decree "revolutionary departures".

"If it should do so," he writes, "the popular resentment would be so great and the need of action so urgent that no one would be surprised if Congress and the President should utilize the power which they always have in reserve of 'packing' the court—that is to say, of appointing additional justices to secure a favorable majority for the act."

And day now the Court may rule upon a concrete case which will tell the story. For several cases are on their way to the Supreme Court. They are the cases of the Milk dealers, building companies, and scattered business enterprises have instituted suits to enjoin various provisions of the N.R.A. From the other side, it seems probable that General Johnson will make a test case of

the Trade Union Unity League is not a bona fide labor union, existing for no other purpose but to support the political activities of the Communist Party on the economic field. Its purpose is to overthrow the American government—revolution, and undisguised. The National Labor Board can be no other attitude in the face of the challenge of such organization but to declare it outlaw.

the course of the recent Communist strike of the workers in Brooklyn, the manufacturers, when they were confronted with the Communist union in court were confronted with a telegram from Secretary of Labor Perkins which said in part that the N R A provided for collective bargaining between employers and employees and that the manufacturers must deal with the "legal representatives of labor." A few weeks ago, another group of manufacturers in the textile trades, harassed by Communist strike leaders T.U.U.L., refused under any circumstances to bargain with a "Red" group, despite the insistence of N R A officials.

Until the National Labor Board has the courage to rule to the contrary, the Communist Trade Union League stands as a "legal" representative of labor. It is a "Red" group from within" the plants of patriotic American workers with impunity, under the protection of Section 7(a) of the N.R.A. Such a situation must be intolerable to a people who prize their American democracy is worthy of defense. Such an organization which is frankly the American branch of the "Red International" of Moscow.

stitution. Powers not so granted are reserved to the States. To accept the emergency plea at this time would be to establish the principle that any future Congress, wishing to enact unconstitutional legislation, need merely declare an emergency. The effect of such a policy would be identical with the repeal of the Constitution itself, or its survival as a Merovingian symbol of the past. It seems difficult to believe that the Supreme Court can be unmindful of these considerations in reaching its decision.

Unfortunately, the recent record of passivity and unconcern for constitutional considerations on the part of the people offers little assurance that there will be a vigilant body of aroused public opinion to support the Court in a temporarily unpopular decision. The most disquieting symptom of the times has been the apathy which great masses of the people have shown in the face of recent events. Three-fourths of the aggressiveness of the New Dealers in their seizures of unconstitutional power has been born of their contempt for a supposedly abject American public. Caesar has become a wolf because the Romans have been lambs. Even a temporary rebuff to Socialism by a courageous decision of the Supreme Court would be meaningless, should the American people continue to be cowed into non-resistance. It would merely incite a renewed and more brazen offensive.

On the other hand, it is unthinkable that a people who have advanced liberty to its furthest human outpost should have become so craven in the calamities of the last four years that they would yield their basic constitutional safeguards without a struggle. There is an imponderable quality in the character of the American people which the Brain Trust, amid their test tubes, would do well to ponder.

Happily, there is reason to believe that the submissiveness of the American people has been more apparent than actual. In a spirit of sportsmanship, the American people have given the New Deal leaders during the last seven months an unbroken national front to assure them the fullest opportunity of success. Many have doubted, but all have obeyed. As long as the American people could believe that the New Deal program was motivated purely by recovery motives and that its powers would lapse with the passing of the storm, they have given to the Administration a magnificent national unity.

The parting of the ways has come with the unmistakable evidence that the New Dealers are contemplating not recovery, but permanent socialization. It has come with the startling recognition that men are at the top who would destroy a constitution in order to achieve a nostrum. The tremendous popular response which has recently greeted Representative Beck, Senator Hatfield, Senator Patterson, former Governor Smith, former Ambassador Fletcher, and other courageous public men who have dared to defy the regiments, indicates the depth of this popular revulsion of feeling. If the extremists in the New Deal camp continue to menace the Supreme Court as it faces the solemn task of interpreting the permanent policy of our nation, they will discover to their sorrow that the Constitution still has its friends. Bread and circuses may suffice for a little while, but when the public realizes that our American system itself is at stake, the "thunders" will be for our Supreme Court and not, as Mr. Finkelstein fancies, against it.

resents the Fascists as claiming that the Corporate State seeks to bring about "planned production". This, despite the fact that Mussolini has emphatically declared that "planned production" was not an intrinsic part of the Fascist program. He then proceeds to show that the existing corporate institutions could not plan production, something which the Fascists have never claimed.

But while Fascism does not plan production, it can and does "wreck", Mr. Strachey continues. What is his evidence? He gathers together a collection of pre-revolutionary Nazi statements against department stores, indiscriminately jumbled with subsequent Hitlerian legislation. He rests his case with these unsubstantiated assertions, studiously omitting any mention of Italy and its policies for retail trade, which would have utterly refuted his assumptions.

Similarly, Mr. Strachey lays great stress upon the fact that the "Corporations of Category" still exist only in skeleton form in Italy. But one can search in vain for any hint that there exists in Italy such a body as the "Council of Corporations" which, without committing itself to the Soviet extreme of "planned production" is today effectively coordinating under capitalism all the divided economic activities of the Italian people.

He cites some of the Hitlerian pre-revolutionary propaganda as evidence that Fascism seeks to prevent the normal consolidation of business which brings efficiency. He omits any mention of the two year old Italian law for "compulsory consortia" under which Fascist industry is now being integrated into large, centralized units. He tells us nothing of the Italian law empowering the government to limit and control increase in the productive capacities of the industries. He leaves out the story of the strict regulation of retail and wholesale prices by which the Fascist Government has battled successfully with the depression since 1930. He tells nothing of the restoration of balance between industry and agriculture which Mussolini has accomplished by a 30% increase of Italian agricultural production. Finally, as the crowning instance of his deliberate omissions, he says nothing of the Istituto Credito Mobiliare by which the Fascist Government today holds 10% of the stock, and control over one third of the industries of Italy.

After thus omitting from the picture all of these tremendously significant modifications of the old "laissez faire" capitalist order of pre-Fascist days, Mr. Strachey triumphantly proclaims:—

"In other words, the Corporate State is Capitalism just as we know it today, with all its instability, its crises, its misery, and its decay, plus a form of serfdom for the workers imposed by compulsory arbitration — Everything else is a pure bluff."

But no, Mr. Strachey, you are wrong. The bluff does not come from Fascism at all. The most egregious bluff of all is the bluff of a distorted book which builds a case against world wide Fascism by doctoring statistics and by suppressing facts. Concededly, it is easy to destroy straw men. But what does it profit even a Communist to destroy a dozen straw men, but to leave the actual case for Fascism unanswered?

James A. Buchanan, expert reader ..... 2,400.00  
Chester F. Crowell, newspaper reader ..... 2,400.00  
Payette S. Gardoppe, newspaper reader ..... 2,400.00  
Burge McFall, reader and abstractor ..... 2,400.00  
Mildred S. Steinmetz, newspaper reader ..... 2,400.00  
Philip J. Simms, newspaper reader ..... 2,400.00  
John L. Goshie, research assistant ..... 2,200.00  
Charles E. Lund, newspaper reader ..... 2,200.00  
Emily C. Pixley, matheson ..... 2,000.00

As a window-dressing for the approaching session of Congress, it is reported that several of the high-salaried publicity experts in the above list are drawing their pay-checks in December.

## "CRACKING DOWN" ON THE NEWS

(Continued from page one)

Administration. To pour salt upon their wounds, the key men in Illinois patronage appear to be the Harold Ickes Donald Richberg crowd of Chicago socialists. The issue recently came to a head in the appointment of two Federal Judges in Chicago. As far as observers here can discover the President disregarded both of the Democratic Senators from the State in filling these vacancies. The selection of Judge Sullivan for one of the appointments, while generally applauded in Chicago, was entirely non-political. The other appointee, William H. Holly, seems to have been a personal selection by Ickes and Richberg. Judge Holly, a former law partner of Clarence Darrow, has been for years one of the props of the Ickes circle. He is an outspoken non-party socialist who has long been chairman of the executive committee of the Public Opinion League of America. At the time of his appointment he was the attorney for the Woman's Trade Union League, which has been so influential in recommending recent Federal appointments. His list of endorses for the Federal judgeship was headed by the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois Federation of Labor. Both Senator Lewis and Senator Dieterich have been loyal supporters of the Administration's New Deal policies, although they are removed in economic thought from the Ickes "Leftists". A similar disregard of party sensibilities in other states, is pointed out, may involve the Administration in some of the Congressional difficulties which bedeviled its predecessor.

A large manufacturer, it is reported, recently spoke right out in meeting at one of the business conference in a way that temporarily silenced some of the bright young men of the New Deal. Angered at the continuance of the Washington intellectuals at the incompetence of the old style American capitalists, he demanded to know wherein the New Deal leaders had ever intimated their own superior wisdom. "We are seeing Johnson, Wallace and Peck being given carte blanche to reorganize completely American industry and agriculture on the ground that they know more than do the old industrial and farm leaders," he exclaimed. "By a coincidence, all three have experienced the tinge of bankruptcy in recent years in the conduct of their own private businesses which they headed before they came to Washington. Johnson and Peck were

when it attempted to secure access to the confidential replies received by the Committee to the questionnaires which it has sent out to all American brokers, in its survey of stock market practices. The Twentieth Century Fund is endowed by Mr. Filene, and its executive head is Evans Clark, the well-known Socialist, who was formerly a teacher at the Rand School. When brokers learned that the Committee had at first given permission to this private organization to scan the confidential information which it was giving the Government, they set up such a protest that the Committee members held a hasty meeting and rescinded their original permission.

## CONGRESSMAN FORECASTS PRESS CENSORSHIP

Washington, D.C.—A frank intimation that criticism of the Roosevelt Administration may be made a criminal offense, if some of the New Deal leaders have their way, was given by the recent statement of Representative William W. Arnold of Illinois that "unless newspapers clean their own house and begin confining their editorial opinions to those portions of their columns especially reserved for such, they'll pull their temple down upon their own heads."

While protesting his own belief in the "freedom of the press", Representative Arnold claimed that growing public resentment at press attacks on the New Deal policies might make restrictions upon the press obligatory by Congress.

Following the recent statement by Representative William T. Schulte of Indiana that press censorship may be proposed in Congress this winter, the Arnold interview may be regarded as a feeler on the part of the faction in Washington who wish to tighten the power of the New Deal during the coming session. That such a proposal would be seriously considered by Congress, unless strongly backed by the Administration itself, is strongly doubted in the Capital.

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veils and fagged for the Administration until he won sufficient favor to be appointed to the Treasury, when its policies became too much for serious people like Secretary Woodin, Undersecretary Acheson and Technical Adviser Professor Sprague, who had left a \$40,000 a year post with the Bank of England to assist Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Morgenthau, however, knew nothing about finance. His life has been spent playing the social climber's game, to rise out of the B grade of foreign international bankers into the Grade A strata, where the Roosevelts, the Morgans, and the Astors hold sway. Mr. Morgenthau, on coming to the Treasury, no doubt realized that he would need some one to hold down his job for him. And, from among the New York financiers, whom his contacts permitted him to know, none qualifies better than Baillie.

This is not the first time the house of Seligman has gotten into Washington finances. Mr. Morgenthau, like Mr. Baillie's Wall Street senior partners, is a second generation international banker of German origin. When the second generation bankers of this type need brains and nerve, they turn to Mr. Baillie's sort. They have brought him to the Treasury. Let us hope our national finances fare better in his hands than did the finances of Nicaragua, Peru, or the Tri-Continental Corporation of which he was Chairman.

## EMMA GOLDMAN RETURNS

A startling reversal of policy on the part of the Federal Government has been instanced in the recent ruling permitting Emma Goldman, the sensational Russian Jewish leader of American Anarchism to return to the United States.

Miss Goldman, in many respects the most brilliant revolutionary leader active in America in this generation, was deported to Russia by the Wilson Administration following the completion of her war-time sentence in the Federal penitentiary. Like many other revolutionists of the old order, she soon found the bureaucratic oppressiveness of Lenin intolerable. She left Russia and has since led a nomadic life in several successive countries which have given her hospitality. Her applications to be allowed to return to America have been consistently rejected by the Federal Authorities.

With the advent of many socialist sympathizers to power in Washington under the present Administration, a favorable ruling has now been given permitting her return. Miss Goldman, whose teachings were instanced by the anarchist Czolgosz as the inspiration of his assassination of President McKinley enjoyed an immense intellectual influence among the American intelligentsia, at the time of her deportation, and her return will undoubtedly give Anarchism a restored life in this country.

It is feared by many informed persons that the ruling in Miss Goldman's case presages a general relaxing of restrictions on the admission of revolutionary aliens to this country by the Department of Labor. The opinion in Washington is that Miss Perkins is out of sympathy with many of our present immigration policies and will give the radicals the breaks on cases which reach her.



The waning popularity of many of the New Deal notables does not yet seem to have affected the immense national confidence in the President himself. Reports reaching here from every section indicate that Mr. Roosevelt is still the majority leader. The attitude of the average citizen seems to be that the faults of the present Administration have issued from the Socialist cabal which has temporarily gained the Presidential ear but that this is but a passing problem. Sooner or later, reasons the n. c., the President will realize that this group is no longer useful to him and he will quickly disperse them. How correct is this diagnosis, events will soon determine, for it seems impossible that the trace of criticism will be maintained for long after Congress reconvenes.

One fact however, which Republican and other opponents of the Administration have not sufficiently pondered, is the extent to which the Administration is making its continuance necessary to vast bodies of the electorate. Without suggesting political motives, the fact remains that the establishment of the CWA was a coup which may have incalculable political consequences. By putting 4,000,000 voters on the national pay-roll only a few months before the next Congressional election, a vast bloc of voters has been set up in every community which will be clamorous for the continuance of the New Deal. Although the CWA funds will be exhausted on May 1st, it will be against all political precedents for the Administration to permit the discharge of this great body of voters just on the eve of an election. Congress will find funds with which to continue their wages.

From the long range viewpoint however, the institution of the CWA may prove to be one of the major missteps of the Administration. It is the dole system, without any of the saving and self-liquidating controls of the English system. Instead of making the dole less attractive to the recipient than private employment as in England, the CWA has actually established wages in many instances higher than prevailing wage levels in the community. In view of General Johnson's recent admission that we will have 4,000,000 unemployed in America, even after recovery, the political impetus for the permanent continuance of the CWA, or something similar, can easily be foreseen. Of course, what Mr. Roosevelt and his advisers are gambling on, to save them from this impasse, is a return of roaring prosperity. Until such time as it appears finally that the New Deal will not accomplish such a return, the country as a whole will string along with Mr. Roosevelt and hope for the miraculous.

There has been much buzzing in Washington in recent weeks about the way in which Senators Lewis and Dieterich have been flouted in Illinois patronage matters by the

(Continued on last page)

Seligman & Company. Handsome young lawyer-apprentice Bailie soon married the senior partner's daughter, a Miss Henderson, and went to the banking firm of J. & W. Seligman & Company where he presently became a partner.

Seligman's was a private banking firm founded back in Civil War days by two aggressive Frankfurt German Jewish immigrants who, it is said, worked their way up into international finance on Civil War mercantile profits. By the time of the World War the founders had passed on and the firm was in the hands of second generation heirs, who had inherited only the founders' physical assets. Bailie brought young fresh blood and imagination into the firm. He cut his eye-teeth in finance on the dealings of J. & W. Seligman & Company and Brown Brothers with the Central American Republic of Nicaragua. That unhappy republic was the real ticket of these banking houses from 1911, when it was delivered into their hands by our Government, until quite recently. It wasn't big stuff—just a good bread and butter piece of business which netted the bankers a tidy 10% a year on their investment, and a 100% profit on their original investment over a 15 year period.

Having mastered the rather simple business of making money out of the Nicaraguan people with the aid of American diplomatic and military intervention, Earle Bailie, by 1927, was ready with training and imagination to turn to larger fields. The American public was then just becoming bullish on foreign bonds and investment trust stocks. Mr. Bailie, accordingly, began bringing out the bonds of third rate foreign governments and cities. The cream of the foreign bond business, of course, went to the older and better firms, J. P. Morgan & Company skimming off the top of the business. The best British, French and Italian national government issues were virtually monopolized by the Morgans, while the Republic of the Argentine felt flattered to be the only South American country which could get its issues underwritten by them. Earle Bailie, however, was not loath to gather the crumbs from the Morgan table. Seligman's brought out bonds for Peru, Colombia, Costa Rica and some of the smaller European borrowers whose bonds could not be sponsored by the first-rank firms.

It was Bailie's genius to take these third-rate credit risk foreign borrowers, and market fabulous amounts of their securities. On Peru, Bailie did his best piece of work. His plan there was to create for Seligman's a stranglehold on Peru comparable to that which his firm had been given on Nicaragua, thanks to the dollar diplomacy of the State Department in search of Canal rights in Nicaragua. As Mr. Bailie did not have the State Department to assist him in Peru to the extent to which they had aided his firm in Nicaragua, Mr. Bailie worked through Juan Leguia, the son of President Leguia, a dictator who seized and held power in Peru from 1920 to 1930, when he was ousted by revolution. Mr. Bailie's associates, presumably under his direction, fixed the son of the President of Peru by paying him about a half of one per cent commission or over a half a million dollars on a hundred million dollars of Peruvian bonds, eighty-five millions of which were sold to American investors in 1927-1928 at upwards of 90 cents on the dollar.

\$1,000,000 from American investors for Tri-Continental Investment Trust in December 1928. By July 1929 he was to take another \$500,000 for a baby sister to Tri-Continental—the Tri-Continental Allied Company. When offered this second \$500,000 of investment trust stock, made it appear to his prospective customers that, during the first six months of operation of Tri-Continental, he had made 42% on the \$25,000,000 of common stock, or 24% on the total \$50,000,000 entrusted to him (\$25,000,000 was in preferred stock).

What was the outcome for the investors? After less than four years of administration by Chairman Bailie, Tri-Continental common on December 31, 1932, had no asset value at all, while the preferred stock had an asset value of only \$83.1 per share. In other words, in four years, Mr. Bailie by the use of good judgment, turned \$100,000,000 entrusted to him in the seven months between December 1928 and July 1929, into about \$33,000,000. Instead of earning 42% a year, he has lost about two-thirds of \$100,000,000 of the investors' money entrusted to him for investment management.

(Continued on last page)

## RUSSIA INSPIRED BRAIN TRUST SAYS COMMUNIST WRITER

That many of the New Deal leaders in Washington were inspired to their present beliefs by visits to Soviet Russia is asserted by Vladimir Meshlauk, Communist expert, in his recent article in "Bolshevik", official Communist magazine published in Russia, according to Donald Day, writing in the Paris edition of the Chicago Tribune on November 27th.

The article states that Meshlauk's article boasts that President Roosevelt has been influenced in his present policies by professors, scientists, and engineers who have visited Russia in recent years and become admirers of Communist methods which they are now attempting to introduce in America.

"In 1933, the 16th year of Soviet power, the largest and leading capitalist country in the world, the United States, can find no other way out of the mire of the depression except to plant in its capitalistic soil economic methods developed by the Communist system," he continues. "Scores of American scientists, professors and engineers who visited Russia in recent years, eagerly studying the experience of Bolshevism, imagine that through the adoption of our economic principles they can halt the decay of their dying capitalistic system."

"It is not accidental that these men have been employed by Roosevelt as advisers and experts at a moment when he attempts to use the methods of Communist economy in a capitalist country. This is one of the most curious events in human history. But Roosevelt forgets that the first step necessary for success is a Bolshevik revolution analogous to ours and the formation of a dictatorship of the proletariat. America can use our methods successfully only after a successful revolution, following the theories of Marx, Lenin and Stalin."

a ruling from the Board excluding Communist organizations from the benefits of Section 7a. Under the present status, no distinction between loyal American labor unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., and anti-governmental Communist bodies affiliated with the so-called Trade Union Unity League has been declared by the N.R.A. officials. As it stands, the mischievous Section 7a clause of the Recovery Act can be cited by the Communists to make it illegal for any American employer to discharge known Communist agitators from his plant whenever such agitators pretend to act in the form of a union. Such an employer could be cited upon demand of the Communist union before the National Labor Board, or one of its subordinate bodies, and penalized for refusing to treat with an American Communist body in his plant.

Some strange influence in the National Labor Board seems to have sidetracked all of the numerous attempts which have been made by patriotic groups and by employers to secure a clean-cut ruling on this issue. In view of the extraordinary reluctance of the Board to act against the Communists, legislation is being prepared to be submitted to Congress this winter amending Section 7a so as to exclude from the benefits of the Recovery Act organizations affiliated with the 'Red International' at Moscow.

In the meantime, thanks to the powerlessness of employers to take steps to protect themselves under the N.R.A., the Communist unions have already trebled their membership since the Recovery Act went into effect. A recent report in the 'Daily Worker', the Communist national organ, indicated that 70,000 new members have been recruited into the Trade Union Unity League since May. In several industries, notably the textile industry in Paterson, the shoe industry in Brooklyn, the metal industry in Ambridge, Greensburg and McKees Rocks, Pa., and the steel industry in Buffalo, these Communist unions have succeeded in inflicting long and devastating strikes upon the industries, fatally retarding recovery. In New Mexico, the Communists succeeded in getting control of the entire coal mining industry, to the exclusion of the United Mine Workers, conducting a strike which resulted in a draw, leaving the Communists in domination over the miners.

Figures published by the Communists some weeks ago indicated that under the N.R.A., 6,000 new members had been recruited into their textile union; 12,000 into their metal and machinery union; 8,000 into their shoe and leather workers' union, and 3,500 into their miners' union.

This unexpected by-product of the Recovery Act is especially unfortunate in view of the fact that on the eve of the passage of the N.R.A. the Trade Union Unity League, was defunct. American employers had succeeded in extinguishing the Communist unions in practically every industry where they were still a factor. While they still existed in skeleton form, their strength had become considerable. With the passage of the N.R.A., with its Section 7a, employers found their hands tied. While openly denouncing the Recovery Act, the Communists quickly seized the opportunity to exploit its possibilities with the result that almost overnight, the Trade Union Unity League became a real menace to American industrial peace.

(Continued on page three)

then and which might have been economic  
crises into oblivion, is so pathetically irresolute and  
inert.

Is it possible, we wonder, that American capitalism is  
so lacking in historical vision that it cannot realize that a  
surrender to Kerensky now, forebodes a certain collapse  
before a Lenin tomorrow? Can we believe that a class  
which, four years ago was entrenched in such absolute control  
that American Socialism in our times was not even  
hoped for by the Socialists, is now so shattered that it can  
no longer vanquish even a Rex G. Tugwell? The question  
is historic in its implications. Certainly, we prefer to be  
lieve that the malady which grips American capitalism is  
not fright but failure to understand the significance of what  
is happening.

A month ago, we stated it as our belief that the  
free market is the heart of the capitalist system, as we have  
known it in the past. Between the free market and a regime  
of state control, there can be no permanent intermediate  
halting point. Once the Government begins the task of  
controlling economic relationships, it must continue. One  
commitment leads inexorably to the next. The very situation  
which the first commitment creates, drives the State  
forward to further and further encroachments upon the  
area of private control and ownership until the process  
culminates in a final collectivism. Let us repeat, if we  
accept the policy of State control as inevitable, then the  
only alternative to collectivism which is open to the business  
man, is a Fascist State.

We reiterate these obvious facts in order to point out  
to the American business leaders the Niagara rapids which  
lie ahead, unless the New Deal program is quickly scuttled.  
Whether it knows it or not, American capitalism in its  
present faltering experiments with State control, is playing  
with the buzz-saw. If it allows itself to be deluded by the  
arguments of the New Dealers that we can have both State  
control and capitalism in any regime short of a Fascist  
State, it will have only itself to blame in the cold gray  
morning of its inevitable disillusionment. Our capitalists  
can be very certain that the Tugwells and the Richbergs  
themselves, whatever be their public declarations, are under  
no personal illusion concerning what they are doing.

The editors of the *Awake* believe that American  
capitalism is still able to save itself without Fascism, if  
it awakes now to its peril. We can still retrace the steps  
toward State control and socialization which the New Deal  
has taken. By scrapping the N R A, the T V A, the paternalistic  
features of the A A A, and the policy of the managed  
currency, and by then concentrating our war against the  
depression upon a program which does not involve a permanent  
derangement of our present economic order, we can  
eventually emerge from the depression with the general  
structure of our capitalist order intact. This will be possible  
if the opponents of State control act NOW.

It will not be possible if the coming session of Congress  
ratifies a continuance of the New Deal. Especially, will it  
not be possible if the supporters of capitalism themselves  
do not quickly regain their morale and their faith in their  
own system. If compromise, and resignation and the sordid  
desire to win temporary benefits for special

go into the South and uphold the banner of American  
among the benighted Nordics.

Without presuming to offer ex parte opinions upon a  
case which has already been repeatedly passed upon by the  
established courts of an American state, we feel that it  
might be relevant to point out that if perhaps the Scotts-  
boro defendants have not found the law bending backwards  
in their protection, it has been the fault of their own dubi-  
ous defenders.

From the beginning, the unfortunate defendants in this  
cause celebre have been used as catspaws of propaganda  
by the Communist party and its ally, the American Civil  
Liberties Union. To understand the public feeling of the  
people of Alabama, it must be realized that the Scottsboro  
case has been presented to them as a challenge and a test  
of power between the state and Communism. So high-  
banded has been the exploitation of these defendants by  
the Communists that the National Association for the Advan-  
cement of Colored People, itself a militant partisan of  
the negro issue, found it necessary to withdraw from their  
defense of the case. The Scottsboro prisoners found their  
own personal interest submerged in a sordid effort by the  
Communists to precipitate a national race issue.

We have had much shuddering in recent weeks by  
law-abiding Americans over the growing challenge of lynch  
law. What is seldom recognized by many who decry lynch-  
ing is the fact that mob violence is frequently the only  
answer of an outraged public community to the miscar-  
riages of justice in our American courts. We say this, not  
to justify but to explain. When we find ourselves con-  
fronted by organizations such as the American  
Liberties Union and the International Labor De-  
mocracy, employing high-powered attorneys who can be rustled  
from section to section of the country to enable class-war  
defendants to enjoy undue advantages in local courts, it  
is possible to understand the temper which goads a local  
community into the sudden hysteria of lawlessness.

Whether our radicals realize it or not, courts are made  
to punish the guilty as well as to acquit the innocent. All  
the storm and fury of New York radicals over the outcome  
of the Scottsboro case does not obscure the fact that in  
raising an uncompromisable race issue, the Scottsboro de-  
fendants have been doomed by their own Communist  
friends, and not by the people of Alabama.

### It Seems to Mr. Brown

The faith of many Socialists that President Roosevelt  
is sympathetic with their objects was voiced by Mr. Hey-  
wood Brown in one of his recent columns in the *New York*  
*World-Telegram*.

"Franklin D. Roosevelt was far to the left of the  
opponent in the last campaign," writes Mr. Brown.  
"In practically every controversy which has arisen  
since his inauguration he has chosen the left turn.  
I believe that the logic of events and the nature of  
the pressure used against him will carry him still fur-  
ther in that direction. Indeed, at the end of four years,  
I think that it will be extremely difficult to distinguish  
Mr. Roosevelt from Norman Thomas unless there is  
light enough to see the label."

one of the maddest attempts at price-fixing that  
the New Deal has yet undertaken. With the withdrawal  
of the Government as a buyer, butter prices have dropped  
to the lowest December price for fresh firsts (15 1/4 cents)  
since 1914 in Chicago in thirty-five years. The Dairy Mar-  
keting Corporation set out to peg prices by buying 75,000  
pounds of butter in the open market. This called forth  
such an unexpected over-production of butterfat, by farm-  
ers, that many of whom abandoned and demoralized other  
branches of the dairy business to concentrate on butter,  
that the Government was forced to abandon the attempt  
early this month. On December 1st, at the end of the  
marketing, stocks of butter on hand aggregated 138,000,  
100 pounds, as compared with 37,207,000 pounds a year  
ago. In the meantime large numbers of buyers who had  
hoarded stocks while the Government was maintaining  
the price level, have been ruined by the sudden disastrous  
price drop. Critics of the A A A policy are now pointing to  
this sorry enterprise as a crowning example of the hope-  
lessness of the whole New Deal philosophy of price-fixing.

### TORY, 1933

Suppose, I ask, he does mean well;  
To what his aim, his firm intent  
To redistribute nature's bounty,  
To shape the course of future years  
By rule of plan, to ease the weight  
Of burdens yet to come—in short,  
To regiment the human race  
Against the laws of Chance. But see  
The ruthlessness behind a plan  
Which seeks relief of human ills  
By annihilation of our surplus  
Of crops and cattle, and wretched souls  
Upon the altar of Perhaps!  
Courage, you say? Alas,  
To do to children in their games  
To defy Jove's lightning with impunity;  
Just so they lightly change their rules of play;  
One not suggests, no matter what,  
The move is tried, it's all in fun,  
And it is sport to win against odds.  
Quite so—in children's games.  
But War is no child's sport,  
And even conquerors miss the mark  
When, grimly bent on victory, they  
Sacrifice their men in Pyrrhic fight.  
The great, the wise of history are not possessors  
Of rule or ruin temperaments.  
No city state are we, but six score million  
Souls, of divers strains and many views,  
Devoted to one flag. The men are mad  
Who fondly think that Fiat, with her cracking whip,  
At one fell swoop can change our ways of life,  
Or stay the tides of barter and of sale.  
The spirit which unhorsed the Drys  
Is but in leath; 'twere well  
To count the cost of further spurring.  
Remembering, too, 'twere fall,  
'Tis we, his friends, who warn him.

Thomas H. Greene.

now spending forty million dollars a day—is  
ing onward to the abyss of bankruptcy.

"Our forebears felt the deepest concern about this power  
of taxation, and most of the battles of English liberty were  
fought about its exercise. From the time of the Planta-  
genets, and through the arbitrary line of the Tudors and  
the Stuarts, and even down to the present time, the Nation  
from which we derive our institutions has clung to the  
principle as the most vitally important that the property  
of the people can never be taken by the government in the  
form of taxes, unless the people themselves, through their  
representatives in Congress, imposed them, and then only  
for federal purposes, as defined in the Constitution. The  
master builders of the Republic were so deeply concerned  
with this fundamental principle of liberty that they waged  
a long and arduous war for seven years, because the Eng-  
lish government sought to impose a tax upon the Colonies  
without the consent of their legislatures, and, therefore,  
when the Constitution was framed, these master builders  
made it, as they thought, an inviolable principle that Con-  
gress only could impose a tax, and to this end that any  
revenue measure must originate in the House of Rep-  
resentatives.

"Notwithstanding these basic provisions of the Con-  
stitution, without which it could never have come into ex-  
istence, the present Congress, on the demand of the ex-  
ecutive, granted to the Secretary of Agriculture an absolute  
power to impose both internal taxes and import duties  
in his sole discretion, upon processed commodities, and  
this unprecedented departure from our form of govern-  
ment was aggravated by the fact that the proceeds of such  
taxes, imposed as to amount and duration by the Secretary  
of Agriculture, could be turned over by him in his sole dis-  
cretion to one class of the people for their special benefit.  
The American people seem incapable of realizing this por-  
tentous fact, because the fiscal operations of the federal  
government as much stupely their intelligence as the  
statistics of astronomy, but if they could once visualize  
what is happening, they would be in revolt unless they  
are unworthy descendants of the men who framed the Con-  
stitution. If these taxes upon processors were paid in  
specie, and a citizen could see the money drained from the  
processors on the sole authority of the Secretary of Agri-  
culture, and trace a hundred thousand such rivulets of bul-  
lion to the door of the Treasury, and then see a line of  
carts drawn up at the doors of the Treasury to cart away  
this bullion, to be given in the discretion of the Secretary  
of Agriculture to the wheat and cotton growers and hog  
raisers of the West, upon such conditions as the Secretary  
of Agriculture may prescribe, then they might begin to  
perceive that the industrial States of the Union are being  
pillaged for the benefit of the agricultural States in an  
amount each year as great as the indemnity which a vic-  
torious Germany imposed upon France in 1870.

"It is not with pleasure that I say what I have said,  
but unless some Americans speak out, our country will  
slowly drift towards the bankruptcy of our Treasury and  
to an even greater bankruptcy of our form of government.  
Let our prayer tonight be: 'God save the United States.'"

FOR  
THE AMERICANISM  
OF THE "RIGHT"

# THE AWAKENER

A NATIONAL ORGAN OF SOUND OPINION

AGAINST  
THE SOCIALISM  
OF THE "LEFT"

VOL. I, No. 2

January 1, 1934

PRICE TEN CENTS



By R. E. S.

In the face of the sickening succession of employment declines reported by the major industries during the last month, the NRA boosters have been driven to the dolorous expedient of whistling to keep up their courage. The New Year is here, but not recovery. It is now becoming painfully obvious that the June and July upturn was but an effort to anticipate inflation and had practically no relationship to the NRA undertaking.

None of these facts, however, have been allowed to penetrate the official NRA publicity releases. Indeed, during the last few days, the NRA has been reduced to the desperate device of doctoring statistics in its publicity announcements in order to reassure the public. Recalling the lofty sneers with which Miss Perkins' press agents announced last March that the alleged statistical carelessness of the late lamented Doak was to be scrupulously avoided under the New Deal, it is alarming to note that already the worst sins of the Doak regime are being re-enacted.

On December 16, the NRA released a glowingly optimistic report of the steel industry under its code. Wage payments for October increased \$800,000 as compared with September, said the report. A careless reader would have received an impression of constantly increasing pay rolls in this once sick industry. Unhappily, Pittsburgh knows better. Now it appears that the NRA deliberately selected the wage figures for this announcement for the month of October, despite the fact that the figures for November were already in its hands. Had November figures been cited, they would have shown that there was a decrease in employment in the steel industry between November 1st and November 30th from 76.4% of normal in October, to 73.8% in November. Pay rolls in the steel industry dropped from 49.5% of normal in October to 43.6% in November, and Miss Perkins herself let the cat out of the bag on December 19th by admitting that there had been a general decline in employment in November of 6.2% as contrasted with the normal seasonal November decline of 1.3%.

## MONEY CHANGERS BACK IN THE TEMPLE

Baillie Appointment to Treasury Astounds Administration Supporters

Promoter of Ill-fated Tri-Continental Investment Trust Which Ruined Thousands of Investors Now  
Dominates the Government's Fiscal Policy

Stunned by the appointment of Earle S. Baillie, central figure in the unsavory investment trust promotions of J. and W. Seligman & Co. during 1929, as the power behind the new Morgenthau throne, Senators are preparing to ask some pointed questions when his appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury comes before them this January. The elevation to a dominating position in the Treasury of a man of the Baillie type by an Administration which has vaunted its determination to drive the money changers out of the temple is regarded as little short of a travesty upon all administration professions.

Thousands of unfortunate investors throughout the United States remember Baillie as the man who, as chairman of the Tri-Continental Investment Trust in 1929, unloaded \$50,000,000 of stock upon the public in a new organization, known as the Tri-Continental Allied Company, upon the claim, set forth in legally air-tight language in his official publicity releases, that the earnings on the first investment trust common stock had been 42% during its first six months. Investors who believed Baillie's carefully worded estimates of earnings found themselves after four years, holding common stock which represented a 100 per cent loss of its asset value, or preferred stock which, so far from earning money, had behind it only \$83.31 asset value per share. The selection of the man who has been humorously referred to by some of his colleagues in the Street as "42 Per Cent Baillie" to administer the Treasury at a time when the new Securities Act is to be recast into permanent form has sent the tremors up the spines of official Washington.

A review of the career of Mr. Morgenthau's new Grand Vizier is an enlightening reflection upon the methods by which some of the financial geniuses of the New Deal have risen to the top.

Earle Baillie is the Alger boy in Wall Street. Back in 1912 he came East. His first jump was from Minnesota to the Harvard Law School. His next was to the Wall Street law firm of Cravath, Henderson & de Gersdorff, which specialized in banking, finance, corporate and railroad work, two of their principal clients being the international

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TRI-CONTINENTAL CORPORATION  
REPORTS INCREASE IN LIQUIDATING VALUE

August 15, 1929

Tri-Continental Corporation, the \$50,000,000 investment company sponsored by J. & W. Seligman & Co., today made known the results of its liquidation. After half year of its existence by reporting an increase in value common stock, the stated increase in per share liquidating value disclosed total profits after preferred dividends of approximately \$5,290,000, equivalent to an annual rate of about 42 per cent on the \$25,000,000 of the corporation's initial capital attributable to the common stock.

Reproduction of publicity released to the press by J. & W. Seligman & Co., on August 15, 1929, estimating 42% profit for Tri-Continental stock

These bonds are now in default and are quoted at around 10 cents on the dollar. Baillie's firm made approximately a million dollars on this business. President Leguia's son got his commission, and the American investors were left holding the bag.

Towards the end of 1928, Mr. Baillie discovered investment trusts. So, using the good name and financial strength of the Seligman firm, whose elderly and second generation partners he dominated, Mr. Baillie went in for investment trusts in a big way. With Baillie himself as chairman of the board, and with Seligman's as the issuing house, he took

### LABOR BOARD PERMITS RED "UNIONS" TO MULTIPLY

By GEORGE C. WINSTON

Although the National Labor Board has now been functioning for a little less than five months, patriotic American societies which have protested to Washington against the tolerance extended under the N.R.A. to out-

# THE AWAKENER

A NATIONAL ORGAN OF SOUND OPINION

Edited by

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25¢ A YEAR

## Capitalist Backbone Needed

Reluctantly it must be confessed that the decisions made by President Roosevelt during the last month have made it increasingly difficult for the non-socialist elements of the country to follow him. The even balance in his policy between the Right and the Left, which has been the most admirable of his Presidential attitudes, has not been so apparent in his late decisions. The Left has been unduly weighting the scales.

In the Treasury Department, despite the dismal demonstration that the Warren gold buyings do not raise prices, the experimenters have been given a continuance of the Presidential favor and Secretary Woodin, Undersecretary Acheson, Assistant Secretary Hawes and Professor Sprague have gone into the wilderness. In the Department of Agriculture, Mr. Peek ventured a testing of power when he discovered that his colleagues were declaring that profit was no longer the object of industry, and it was Mr. Peek who had to depart. In the N R A, the utter failure of the sorry Recovery enterprise to increase employment after seven months of ballyhoo has been greeted, not by a ringing Presidential declaration that the N R A must give place to another policy, but by the astonishing announcement that this spavined steel will continue to be driven. Through the whole Government apparatus, there is a heightened determination to proceed with the policies of control.

In the face of this indication that the Left is today in the ascendant, the quiescence of the Right elements of the nation is disheartening. How can even a pretense of balance in our Government be maintained when the Left is so much more triumphant than the Right? How can the President stand up against the 'revolutionists' and the economic corn doctors in his Administration when the supporters of capitalism in this country show the valor of a Casper Milquetoast in every successive showdown?

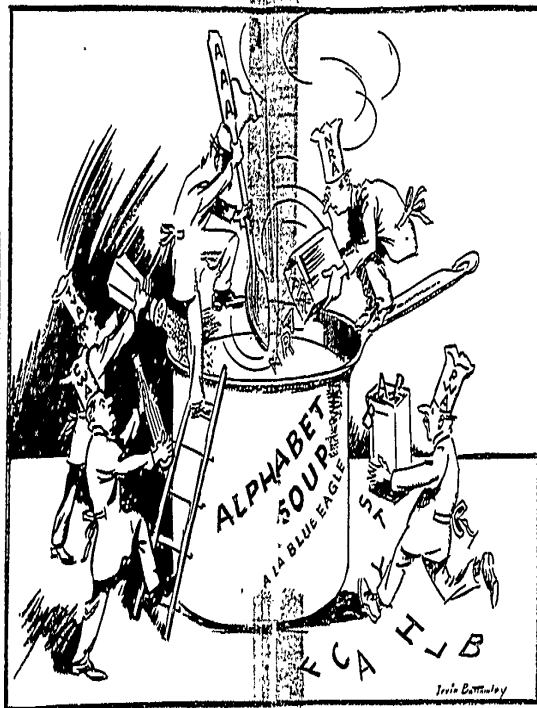
At bottom, the tragedy of the situation is not that the Newells, the Jellises and the Perkinses are strong. The tragedy is that the leadership which should oppose

groups from the New Deal at the expense of their own system shall continue to actuate American business, it will go beaten into the battle. It remains for our business leaders to decide in this present crisis whether, within our own times, we shall see America confronted by an untimely choice between the final alternatives of Fascism or a Communist commonwealth.

## The Real Issue in Scottsboro

The conviction of the second Scottsboro defendant has aroused the expected storm of resentment among right-wing groups throughout the country. Meetings of protest, organized for the most part by Communist groups, are whooping up Northern resentment against the people of Alabama. Mr. Leibowitz is attitudinizing before New York audiences in the role of the courageous attorney who

## "TOO MANY COOKS—"



We reprint this Heywoodian rhapsody as a horrible example to the President of the dismal fate which some of his socialistic public hold in store for him. Fortunately, the country is too well acquainted with the fundamental Americanism of the man in the White House to be alarmed by the enthusiasm of such dubious allies. The time is not distant, it seems to the Awakener, when Mr. Roosevelt will set his feet resolutely and irrevocably on the pathway which leads to the right.

## Another Brain Trust Fumble

Since his departure from the A A A, efforts are being made by the collectivist crowd in the Department of Agriculture to make George N. Peek the goat of the disastrous break-down of the Administration's dairy program. Whether Wallace or Peek is the culprit, the fact remains

## THE NEW DEAL IMPERILS AMERICAN LIBERTY

Representative James M. Beck Warns of Approaching Crisis

Warning his audience that a fundamental attack upon the basis of the American Constitution is being waged by the New Deal policies, Representative James M. Beck of Pennsylvania addressed the annual dinner of the Pennsylvania Society in New York, Saturday evening, December 16th. Representative Beck said in part:

"The basic idea of the Constitution was that our Federal government was to be one of laws and not of men. These laws were supposed to be the composite judgment of the people acting through their representatives in Congress. It was never intended that laws should be made obligatory upon the citizen in the discretion and by the fiat of an overgrown bureaucracy. The generation which framed the Constitution had no faith in bureaucracy. They had suffered grievously from bureaucratic government in England, and these master builders of the Republic, who were strong individualists, were only willing to limit their freedom by such reasonable and necessary laws as were enacted by Congress within the clearly specified limits of its delegated powers.

"Today, however, Congress has virtually surrendered its power, and the American people are largely governed by the regulations of commissions and bureaus whose abbreviations have exhausted the letters of the alphabet. Government by commission is government by caprice, and government by caprice is tyranny. It is not even a beneficent tyranny—if such a thing were possible—for government bureaus are always slow, generally stupid, and sometimes, but infrequently, corrupt. Anyone who will face realities and not delude himself with fictions, must realize that today the vital spirit of the American Constitution has been snuffed out, and our happy federation of States has been converted, at least for the time being, from a federated Republic into a unitary socialistic State. The great line of demarcation which, in commerce and industry, allocated to the Federal government and the several States their respective functions, has been obliterated, and the legislative duty which the Constitution solemnly imposed upon Congress has been largely delegated to the executive.

"Our noble Republic might conceivably survive the destruction of the Constitution but it cannot survive the destruction of the basic ideals of Anglo-Saxon liberty, of which the Constitution was but one expression. Let me illustrate my meaning by a single instance. If there was one principle of liberty about which our forebears were deeply concerned, it was the principle that taxes could only be imposed by the representatives of the people. They knew that the power to tax was the power to destroy, and if I may amplify that famous statement, I would say that the power to tax was the power to redistribute property by arbitrary law, and such is not only the avowed purpose

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submitted in the near future.

Very truly yours,

*R. H. Simons*

R. H. SIMONS  
Special Agent in Charge

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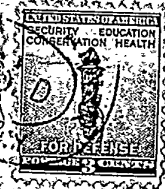
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